

INSIDE: Arafat's final days?

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JULY 4, 1983

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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THE WAY WE ARE

The new census: a portrait of Canadians



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COVER

The way we are

An 84,343,181 Canadians prepared to celebrate their first official Canada Day on July 1, they displayed a characteristic mix of nostalgia, naiveté and profound ambivalence about who they really are. But they also know more about themselves than ever before, as a result of an awesomely intricate \$118-billion process—the latest census. —Page 18

OTHER ART PHOTO BY PHILIP



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Lalonde's restraint

Prime Minister Jean Chrétien will celebrate the first anniversary of "Six-and-Five" and may be ready to push his program of restraint back into the spotlight. —Page 30



A sweet seventh ride

The latest successful space shuttle mission has again proved the program's effectiveness and also provided a number of historic space firsts. —Page 40



The search for a Democrat

Walter Mondale is enjoying first-plus status among the Democratic party presidential hopefuls. But how his strategy may still cost him the race. —Page 36



The royal road show

As the tour by the royal exasperates, Charles and Diana, moved west, adoring multitudes in Ottawa and St. John's were left to cover their reactions. —Page 12

Kudos for Clark

"Jac Clark has served this party with dignity, honor and courage." This was the message paid by Brian Mulroney to the man from whom he had just wanted the Tory leadership moments earlier. Protocol aside, Mulroney could never have uttered a greater truth. These are qualities for which the party and country seem to have little, if any, regard. After the second ballot, one did not want to know who he was, did you? Clark. The response "I don't believe that honesty and integrity win elections anymore." This, in turn, begs the question, "What does win elections?"

—BO STUBBS-VALE,
Calgary



Clark: a gentleman

day basis in the House of Commons and on parliamentary committees. Such a system could not be considered undemocratic because the leader would be selected by those elected to Parliament. This process would result in large savings of time and money.

—KENN ENGLISHMENT,
Victoria

—G.S. JONESWELL,
New Westminster, B.C.

How I wish members of Parliament from all parties would get together without delay and jointly express agreement for reforming the chaotic system of electing their leaders (From The Editor's Desk, June 30). Brian Mulroney, who has never held office, may turn out to be the right man. Political leaders, however, are generally chosen from among those with parliamentary experience. So surely the right people to elect them are those members of their party who work with them on a day-to-

day basis in the House of Commons and on parliamentary committees. Such a system could not be considered undemocratic because the leader would be selected by those elected to Parliament. This process would result in large savings of time and money.

—MARY KENNEDY,
Toronto

John Corder's unpleasantly remarks after the PC convention show him for what he is, a poor loser (Mulroney scores a taste of unity, Canada, June 30). Jac Clark's closing speech reflects the man he is. This country needs a great deal to him for everything from his work on the Constitution to energy policy. Alliances work both ways, and since Corder did not see fit to move to Clark, let him now go home and walk over his French lessons.

—L.M. McHAFPIE,
North Vancouver

Locating Dorchester Pen

I enjoyed the article *Jac's Canada's Prisons* (Cover, June 6) but find it difficult to tolerate either historical or geographical errors in the first paragraph of an article. You can save the reeling countryside of northwestern New Brunswick but you won't find the 204-year-old Dorchester maximum security penitentiary. For its own history, Dorchester Pen has remained in northeastern New Brunswick not too far from the New Brunswick-New Scotia border.

—DANIEL MACKAY,
Oshawa

PASSAGES

RECOVERED Martin Hattersley, 56, the son of Social Credit theorist Marshall Hattersley, as leader of the federal Social Credit party. Hattersley resigned after Alberta party members refused to reinstate the suspension of former high school teacher James Keegstra, 48, the mayor of Edsonville and the party's provincial vice-president, Thomas Robert, second vice-president, and Jim Green, regional supervisor, all of whom had been suspended for making anti-Semitic statements. Keegstra set off a national uproar when he appealed the loss of his teaching job. He was fired in December for teaching students that the Holocaust, in which six million Jews were murdered by the Nazis, was a hoax. Other resignations have followed.

DECEIT Dial Torgerson, 55, the Los Angeles Times bureau chief in Mexico City, and Richard Cross, 38, a photographer for *U.S. News & World Report*, when their automobile was struck by a rock-strewned grenade near Tijuana. Hattersley, on the Mexican border. Hattersley and U.S. officials claim that the grenade was fired by Nicaraguan government forces who later machine-gunned their car. But the Nicaraguan government disavowed the charge by Hattersley and claimed in a statement that the murders are part of a tradition. "To justify greater aggression against Nicaraguans."

APPOINTED Li Xianmin, 74, an economic planner and former vice-premier of China, whose political career spans the Chinese Civil War, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, as China's president—the first since the late 1960s—at a session of the National People's Congress in Peking. Deputies were offered only one choice for the post, which in the Chinese equivalent of local state. Zhao Ziyang was re-elected as premier after being nominated by Li. Li, elected to the party Politburo in 1956, was one of China's most trusted associates until Chou's death in 1976.

DECEIT William E. Miller, 64, the Republican candidate for vice-president in 1964 who served seven terms in Congress and acted as assistant prosecutor at the Nuremberg war trials, of a stroke in Buffalo, N.Y.

OVERLOOKING Neil Simon, 50, one of the most commercially successful playwrights in Broadway history (*Barry Lyndon* in the Park, *The Odd Couple*), and actress Marsha Mason, 46, who has starred in many films written by Simon or based on his plays, including *Chapter Two*, after nine years of marriage.



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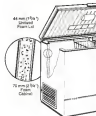
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FOLLOW-UP

The politics of pot

It has been 18 years since the Le Dain royal commission on the nonmedical use of drugs released its final report. The \$4.5-million study, which took more than four years, remains one of the most comprehensive accounts of drug use—and abuse—in the world. Yet its basic recommendation, that the possession of marijuana be decriminalized, has not been enacted, nor is it likely to be in the foreseeable future. Federal Justice Minister Mark MacGuigue told Maclean's, "The government is still studying the issue, but it is not a priority."

The federal government appointed the commission under Chairman Gerald Le Dain, then dean of Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto, in 1969. It was a time when the increasing recreational use of cannabis—marijuana and hashish—by young people was alarming police and parents. Le Dain's mandate was to study all mind-altering substances, from simple pills and amphetamines ("speed") to heroin, but most Canadians were primarily interested in his findings on marijuana.

The five-member commission left no stone unturned in its exhaustive study. More than 600 researchers and consultants collected and examined all known literature on drugs. The commission sponsored three drug symposiums in Montreal, and senators from all over the world attended. Commission members travelled throughout the United States, Europe, Britain, Israel and Australia to consult with drug experts. They cruised Canada, holding hearings in coffeehouses and on university campuses. Besides consultation member Peter Stein, now a graduate professor at a Victoria university school. "Our hearings in different cities took on the form of a town meeting. There was no end to the number of people coming forward from all walks of life to talk on the subject." More than 15,000 Canadians participated in the public hearings, 300 individuals and 338 organizations submitted briefs. Said Le Dain, who is now a judge at the Federal Court of Appeal in Ottawa: "In a way, we made drugs respectable, we made it possible to talk about drugs openly."

Even though the Liberal party had advocated a more open-minded approach to the personal use of marijuana since 1968, the subject was potentially so politically explosive that Pierre Trudeau's government was slow in responding to the commission's interim report, presented a year after it had begun its inquiries. The subject was

deeply divided as the report's main recommendations: that marijuana possession be decriminalized, that convictions for marijuana use carry a five instead of a jail sentence, and that the imprisonment period for trafficking be reduced. While the government agonized over its response to the interim report, a rump was leaked to Tim's Canadian edition, turning the embarrassed cabinet to release the study. John Manors, then health minister, bravely promised to introduce legislation to enact the Le Dain proposals, while then Justice Minister John Turner openly contradicted his cabinet colleague by saying that the government was committed only "to give consideration" to the recommendations. Said Stein: "The report became an embarrassment for the government. We put them in a position to say yes or no. They said maybe."

To date, the government's only compromise has been a 1977 federal act exempting prosecutors of drug cases from fines instead of jail sentences. In 1974 the Le Dain recommendations on cannabis went before the Senate in the form of Bill S-36, but it died on the order paper in the House of Commons. The latest of the government's inaction was outlined in the last throne speech in April, 1986, when the government indicated that it intended to "move cannabis offences to the Food and Drug Act, a shift that would remove the possibility of imprisonment for simple possession." That remains to be seen. Recently, MacGuigue appeared to rationalize the government's inaction by saying that health dangers related to marijuana appear more serious now than they did 18 years ago. But an 1985 editorial in the New Democratic Party's critic of the solicitor general's department, says that the real reason for government inertia is that "politicians are terrified of taking any action for fear of being perceived as supporting marijuana."

Bespite the threat of criminal sanctions, millions of Canadians continue to use cannabis on a regular basis. A 1981 Health and Welfare Canada study reported that about four million Canadians over the age of 18 had tried cannabis, that about two million had used it at least once in the past year, and that about 350,000 young people between the ages of 12 and 18 used the drug. Each year since 1968 more than half of all Canadian high school students polled have admitted to smoking marijuana. A survey of the 1977 graduating class at Osgoode Hall revealed that more than

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35 per cent of the almost 800 graduates had used the drug, and the majority said that they planned to continue using it after graduation.

Trodes said in 1977, "If you have a joint and you are smoking it for your own pleasure, the government's policy is that you should not be hassled." But today Canadians continue to be prosecuted and convicted for cannabis possession. In 1977 there were 37,308 convictions, in 1981, the latest year for which statistics are available, there were 34,585. While the number of jail sentences has declined substantially—from 32 per cent of convictions in 1980 to 5.2 per cent in 1981—a person convicted of possession still has a criminal record. Proposals for change such as the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws argue that cannabis legislation is draconian and should never have been included in the Narcotics Control Act. In 1982 it was placed alongside such narcotics as heroin in the legislation. But the Le Dain commissioners were anxious to take the correct that marijuana and hashish were "soft drugs." Says Marie-Audrie Hernandez, a criminology professor at the University of Montreal and the only Le Dain commissioner to file a minority report recommending the outright legalization of cannabis: "If there is any thing our research proved, it is that marijuana is not a narcotic, it is a mild hallucinogen."

While political consideration may lie at the heart of the government's failure to move ahead on new legislation, there is another factor. Canada, along with 114 other countries among the 157-member United Nations, is party to the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, a 1954 treaty specifying that the possession and sale of cannabis should be punishable offenses. But those setting change argue that the treaty should not give Ottawa an out. Said Neil Boyd, an assistant professor of criminology at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver: "That does not preclude the possibility of insuring the penalty so that marijuana could be treated like a parking ticket."

The Le Dain commission estimated that each year less than one per cent of marijuana users are convicted of possession. And the government statistics reveal that there has been no reduction in either the use of marijuana or in the enforcement of laws governing marijuana use. But the likelihood of decriminalizing cannabis seems as remote as it did when the Le Dain commission first recommended it in 1970. Concludes Heinz Lehmann, a member of the commission: "The political climate was not ripe then, nor is it now, and it may not be for another 20 or 30 years."

—JILLIE WAX DUBIN in Ontario

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FOLLOW-UP

The hobbies under fire

When London police officers mistakenly shot freelance film editor Stephen Waldorf five times on Jan. 14, his agonies were so severe that doctors called his subsequent complete recovery "miraculous." Even though police have since captured the real culprit, the fallout from the shooting continues to haunt them.

In what London's police chief, Sir Kenneth Newman, described as "a tragic case of mistaken identity," London Metropolitan Police believed that Waldorf, 36, was Daniel Martin, 36, a prison escapee who had been charged with burglary and the attempted murder of a policeman. What convinced the officers that they had the right man was the presence of Susan Stephens, 25, a sometime girlfriend of Martin's, in the yellow Austin Mini with Waldorf six months after the shooting. Footed Yard continues its investigation. To date, police have charged one officer, Det. Const. John Jordan, 37, with attempted murder and another, Det. Const. Peter Finch, 37, with attempted wounding. Police officials have suspended both officers from duty with full pay until the investigation is complete and a trial date is set, which a police spokesman says could take months.

Meanwhile, Martin was arrested in a London subway tunnel on Jan. 26, after a dramatic chase by armed police. Martin is now in Bristol Prison awaiting a trial date. He has not been a model inmate. On Jan. 31 he went on a two-week hunger strike in an apparent bid to gain Stephens' sympathy. Then a few weeks later he unceremoniously attempted suicide by taking an overdose of drugs.

For his part, Waldorf is now back at work at London's television film studios. Although he has refused to comment, lawyers had speculated at the time of the shooting that he could sue police for \$450,000 in damages. The affair remains one of the blackest stains on the fading reputation of the British police, whose ability has seriously eroded with the rise of urban crime. The whole question of police powers has been under review in recent months and is expected to be one of the government's priorities this summer. Declared Britain's former home secretary and top police official, William Whitelaw, "Nothing like it must happen again."

—Cathy Kesselring in London

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Ganever Gin

The history of gin evolved through various stages. The first was Ganever Gin, invented by a Dutch professor of medicine around 1690. It still enjoyed today for its robust taste, characterized by the pungent favour of juniper (genetic) berries.



Lemon Gin

Late in the 17th Century British doctors started using sugar and flavourings to hide the true taste of their other raw products.



London Dry Gin

Thanks to Queen Anne, this was a great improvement. In 1792 she encouraged London doctors to create a more refined product. They "double-distilled" their spirit and botanicals, and created much the same gin we know today.

Compare Pickles' and discover the taste that's making gin history.



Pickles' Extra Dry, London Dry Gin

A more recent evolution in gin came with the creation of Pickles. If you consider yourself a connoisseur of gin, we invite you to compare the unique taste of Pickles with your favourite domestic and imported gins.

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There are reasons for the subtle difference in the taste of Pickles. First the recipe for "Pickles" is unique. Ever so lightly touched with the essence of selected herbs and spices found on and exported from the forests of The Empire in the late 18th Century.

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Sgt. Major Pickles, Dewitt Pickles, Legendary King of Pickles (1871)

PICKLES'

**EXTRA DRY
LONDON
DRY GIN**

COLUMN

Controlling the Hula-Hoops

By Barbara Amiel

There is now no area of human activity that is beyond legislative or regulatory. This attitude, in the major domain of our times, and beside it—in the lens of history and far those who value a decent and free society—the problem of adult men, crime or criminal life will make as more kindergarten exercises.

Nowhere is the uncontrollable age to regulate and legislate more evident than in the workplace. Consider some examples.

A group of management types in the Toronto recently decided that all smoking should eventually become outlawed. To begin with, they decided to make the two best radio station non-smoking studios.

This presented several problems. A number of the best radio producers, technicians and production personnel, not to mention actors and writers, are chain smokers. This may not be to their own personal good but it is a habit that they require for their last working efforts.

But the feds and the feds of the day are such that most of these poor devil radio-making beings were dared to try their last smoke habit. Only a few early cigarette producers objected. At this point management, living and health reasons as a justification, was passed out that the no-smoking policy was also for the smokers, which were negatively affected by the smoke.

To which the cigarette producers replied with much common sense that this was (a) untrue and (b) were it true, the cigarette had obviously chosen the wrong customers for the anti-federal atmosphere of the creative province. The end product of the cigarette, however, is not as obvious but programs in which case it is the disempowerment of the creative personnel that should be outlawed.

CRC management, knowing when the law is set, advised that the machines were unaffected by smoking. It was management's thinking that had been affected—by federal concerns. An official concern was reached. The no-smoking signs were left for "educational" purposes. The producers would treat them according to their own needs and requirements.

Second example. At St. Vincent Hospital in Ottawa an electrician was fired by his employers for making remarks that offended women workers. The electrician, who introduced himself to female workers as "Jo Ann Pickles"

"I'm not" was given to making suggestive comments, such as "God, you have a big smile today. Have you got years left yet?"

Complaints were made, the jokes were made and subsequently fired.

Such a thing should be—whether or not one sees such behavior as serious or flippant—a decision to be made by the employer. Also, it is not.

When I'm not sent to government arbitrators, there are no such things as sympathy with the employer, pointing out that such "male chauvinism" is reprehensible and cannot be tolerated in the workplace. But the arbitrator felt the punishment was too severe and the ardent electrician should be given one more chance. The employer was forced to retire him.

Third example, the provincial government of Ontario has introduced legislation banning private employers from

'There are dangers when the government adds the force of law to the already potent bias of fashion'

using lie detector tests on prospective or current employees. According to reports, these lie detector tests were used by reading machine owners to verify information on employee applications.

For example, the Ontario Human Rights Commission has banned just about every reasonable question on employee application forms. An employer may not ask of prospective employees their age (except for the question "Are you between the ages of 18 and 65?"), marital status, criminal record, whether or not they are pregnant, whether they are willing to work on religious holidays—or what their religion is. But so is an employer's right to select.

These are a number of points to be made about all this.

These matters are simply not appropriate for the government's purview. Lie detectors, for example, are worthless machines, useless inaccuracy and unreliable. But so is an employer's right to select, so may be graphology, astrology or his secretary's advice. Should they, too, be banned in private business enterprises?

The more important issue, however, is the trend toward legislating feds. People in the workplace have different

habits. Some smoke, some are annoyed by smoke. Some like dirty jokes, some people are profane. These become causes because people of different cultures, personalities and beliefs are thrown together in one common environment. It is totally impossible and undesirable to decide which habit is worthy of government protection and which habit has a higher moral standing.

In fact, there are two distinct ways to handle these conflicts. The super-civilized way is to try and separate the alleged from the alleged. The CAC, for example, by the expenditure of money and time, could designate some studios as non-smoking ones and some as smoking ones.

The second intelligent way is to use production means to decide which rights are more important. If your star technician tells dirty jokes, management ought to be able to say that since Jack is more weights than anyone else and we are in more jeopardy than the rest of the few secretaries. When, for example, one did a show with the late Glenn Gould, who, never mind smoking, could barely stand breathing, it went without saying that he was excluded because the priority was Glenn Gould.

But, alas, we don't deal with controversy in an intelligent way these days. We tend to endorse one side of the conflict at right angles as wrong. This is much more dangerous when the government gets into the act because the force of law is added to the bias of fashion.

Fashions are in themselves harmless, they have included at various times the idea that women must not smoke in the streets, that no one should smoke in the car, no smoking in restaurants or private areas must be depicted in movies with a cigarette dangling from his lips.

But so long as it was merely fashion, we had no less removing one's (joke) as a movie director if a hero did not dangle a cigarette. Fashion changes. Laws and legislation do not.

We are now beginning to think and believe that there is nothing from the amount of exercise we take, the food we eat or our attitudes, thoughts, habits, modes of speech in the workplace and streets together with the forcing and firing of people that is not the proper area for legislative action.

This is more dangerous than the decisions. Cigarette smoking may very well be unhealthy for the individual involved but it is nothing compared to the healthiness and non-healthiness of this trend.





Lapierre in his Ottawa office; Maxwell (right), champagne, but a certain pain for anyone who passed to stop out of line

CANADA

Six-and-Five stays alive

By Carol Goss

For weeks Finance Minister Marc Lalonde had been dropping hints that he had more than champagne and fine speeches in mind for this week's first anniversary of the government's Six-and-Five restraint program. As he submitted his plans to cabinet this week, however, the rumors became a certainty: Ottawa's inflation-fighting program is going to be pushed back into the spotlight, and its second year will be just as tough as the first. "Anyone who gets out of line should expect the full wrath of the federal government," said Ottawa Liberal MP John Evans. "And anyone who thinks Lalonde is fading is living in a dream world."

Worried that Canadians may be losing their resolve in the battle against rising prices and wages, Lalonde has shouldered the double role of restraint cheerleader and harsh disciplinarian ready to crack down on government suppliers who exceed the Six-and-Five guidelines. While the minister insists he has no intention of imposing compulsory price and wage controls, he admits he has been frustrated lately by a number of blatantly greedy wage settlements and is determined to lay down the law. "There will be no change in

emphasis in the Six-and-Five program," he told a business audience recently. "We have achieved the Six and we are launching a vigorous drive for Five." Inflation now stands at 5.4 per cent. So small part of Lalonde's resolve comes from the fact that restraint has been one of the few analyzed Liberal successes over the past year.

The revitalized program contains two key elements: a Companies' restraining government contracts will be expected to abide by the government's guidelines, although it is unclear what penalties would be imposed on those who exceed the limits; a A federal-provincial finance ministers' meeting will be held soon to discuss the danger of a new outbreak of inflationary wage increases.

As well, the basic-allowance features of the year-old program—wage controls for government employees and voluntary price and wage guidelines for the private sector—will continue.

Lalonde has awarded his initiative carefully and cleverly. He began in early May by telling big industry's Business Council on National Issues in Montreal that he was disturbed by reports of overly generous salary increases in the nation's executive suites. A few weeks later he warned the Canadian

Manufacturers' Association that the country runs the risk of a new round of inflation unless officials reiterate themselves to restraint.

Lalonde's program is bound to be welcomed by the government's disgruntled back benches. Plagued by repeated scandal throughout the spring, Liberal MPs were longing for a clear display of government authority. Said Toronto MP David Collette: "People are looking for leadership, and if they don't get it from the government they're going to go elsewhere."

A renewal of the Six-and-Five program will give Liberal MPs something with which to mollify their constituents as they leave this week for their two-month summer break from Parliament. Whether it will be enough to counter the inevitable nasty questions about when Pierre Trudeau will resign or to distance attention from the party's 22-per-cent rating in the Gallup poll (the Conservatives have 50 per cent) remains doubtful. Quebec Liberal Senator Jean Lapierre admits that he agrees to his Eastern Townships riding of Sheffield feeling somewhat threatened. "There's nothing I can point to and say, 'This is why you should re-elect me,'" he says.

The government's performance in

Parliament certainly will not win the Liberals any support. The current session—the longest in Canadian history—has lasted so far, exceeding 540 days. Although cabinet is meeting throughout the summer to plan for the fall session, it appears that the country will have to wait until at least Thanksgiving for Trudeau's long-awaited closure speech. That means Parliament will resume in Sept. 12 with a plate full of stale legislation, and Liberal MPs know Canadians are looking for more.

Lalonde is the only minister in the Trudeau cabinet who has managed to give the Liberals anything to cheer about in the past six months. But the question Lalonde must now ask is whether restraint-weary Canadians, who are finally starting to sense an economic turnaround, will accept another year of restraint. The dinner signals that convinced the country to accept the Six-and-Five program when it was unveiled a year ago are fading rapidly. Inflation has dropped to a 10-year low of 5.4 per cent from 11.2 per cent last June. The economy is beginning to grow after 18 months of stagnation. Housing starts are up 120 per cent from a year ago, and consumers are finally out shopping after more than a year of nervous price-gazing. With the battle against rising prices and wages losing its urgency, Lalonde is concerned. "We still have a lot to prove to such other when it comes to reducing and controlling inflation," he told a recent business conference.

So far, however, there is little concrete evidence that Canadians have eased up in the fight against inflation. The average rate of private sector wage settlements during the first quarter of the year was 6.4 per cent, compared to 12.6 for the same period in 1989. Consumers are still spending cautiously, saving 11 cents out of every dollar. Brian Stokes of the Conference Board of Canada, an Ottawa-based forecasting agency, sees no signs of a wage explosion. "Corporate balance sheets are not in very good shape, most companies are still too weak to offer their employees large wage settlements," he says. "We have not seen large increases and we don't expect them."

Thomas Maxwell, president of the conference board, agrees that the most important challenge facing Canadians as the economy improves is to remember that "we're still a damn long way away" from the good old premonetary days. What will be the real picture is fairly difficult, he says, is the descriptively huge growth and profit gains that will be reported this year. As an economy pulls out of a recession, profit increases of more than 100 per cent and growth figures in the five-per-cent range are virtually automatic, he says.

But the real story is not nearly as attractive to the numbers addicts. When economic activity has been purging about a rate over zero, any increase looks drastic.

Still, Maxwell is not prepared to rule out a resurgence of inflationary wage and price demands. "A few isolated pockets are waiting to worry about, but if they are the beginning of a trend, then we should start worrying," Maxwell says. For the moment, he suggests that the government do nothing more than remind Canadians, as often and vigorously as possible, that the recovery is very fragile and an outburst of large



wage settlements could threaten it. If it becomes clear that moral suasion is not sufficient, it may be necessary to consider more drastic actions—such as harsher restrictive policies including high interest rates, tax increases and reduced government spending or, if those fail, price and wage controls of some sort. "But [restraint] is what I think they will do," he says.

That appears to be exactly Lalonde's game plan. The chances of bringing the economy back from its two-year slump look much better than the chances of reversing the fortunes of the embattled Liberal government. ☐

Hookers, porn and the Code

There is no kinder aspect of crime—[law] than sex. Justice Minister Marc MacGuigan proved that again last week when he published a draft bill to toughen Criminal Code sections on soliciting and obscenity. The measure was immediately attacked by men, women's groups and police.

The draft amendment contains only two sections. The first would broaden the definition of clarity to include "sexual exploitation" not just of sex but also of "violence, crime, horror or cruelty, through degrading representations of a male or female person or in any other manner." It would also expand the scope of obscenity beyond peddling to include videotapes.

The second proposed change, dealing with soliciting, makes it clear that the customer as well as the prostitute could be charged with soliciting—a point that has become confused by contradictory court judgments. The Ontario Court of Appeal, for example, has ruled that customers are liable to be charged; the B.C. Court of Appeal has ruled the opposite. The new section also defines a "street" as a public place—a response to police complaints that they could not control soliciting carried out in cars.

Yves Fassin, president of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police, however, was not pleased. The changes of the Law Amendment Committee, Thomas Flanagan, of the Ottawa police force, expressed disappointment with the proposals, largely because they do nothing about a 1978 ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada that soliciting must be "pressing or persistent" to be a crime. Judges have since decided that even repeated propositions by streetwalkers are not necessarily illegal. Police say that the ruling makes it difficult for them to prosecute.

On Parliament Hill, Conservative MP Ray Hanrahan called the draft a "green light for prostitutes and pimps" and pressed for stronger action. Brenda Boonstra of the New Democratic Party said the bill's aim to remove soliciting entirely from the Criminal Code and let municipalities control the problem with bylaws. Doris Anderson, head of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, supported that stand. In the meantime, soliciting remains a crime, although prostitution itself is not.

The draft, which has not been introduced as a bill yet, is unlikely to become law for months—if ever. The issue, as always, is how to keep the state out of the nation's bedrooms while still keeping sex off the streets.

—JIM HAY in Ottawa

On the road with royalty

They started living up at 6 a.m. on the lawn of Parliament Hill. But nine hours later, when the Prince and Princess of Wales made their way through 30,000 fans waiting beneath the Peace Tower, the sweltering Ottawa heat had taken its toll. Several on-lookers were carried to waiting ambulances after having collapsed in the 29°C temperature. One soldier, sweating at attention in his scarlet wool tunic and tall bearskin of the Grenadier Guards, crumpled to the ground during Prince Charles's inspection. But for those who managed to shake hands with the royal couple or to get an unobstructed view of the proceedings, the wait was worth it, especially for the chance to see Diana. Everywhere she went the golden-haired future queen was greeted with frenzied squeals more normally reserved for a rock star rather than a member of the Royal Family. Thousands cheered, "We want Diana, we want Diana."

The couple spent three days in Ottawa during the second week of their Canadian tour, which will conclude next week in Moncton. In Ottawa they slipped through the normal ceremonial hoop: they attended a barbecue, planted a tree at Government House, opened a police station and survived a power failure which derailed a reception. They even had time to place a call

to their son, Prince William, on his first birthday, and the child responded with squeaky translatician sounds.

Wednesday the couple flew into flight St. John's, where they were met by 1,600 cheering well-wishers and a line of 18 anti-British protesters demonstrating for an end to British rule in Northern Ireland. The demonstrators carried signs that read, "British rubber bullets kill Irish babies." In true imperishable royal style, the visiting couple overlooked the protesters and headed straight for their admirers like seasoned politicians. At 22, Diana's flair for making small talk and large groups was more heart for the monarchy. After being presented with three flowers by one St. John's girl, she said, "You shouldn't spend your money on me." To another young girl who was about to take her picture, she quipped, "Don't use the flash, it will give me red eyes."

Throughout, Prince Charles seemed eager to let his young wife back in the adoration. Said John Shillip, a freelance photographer who has specialized in covering the Royal Family for more than a decade, "Even though Charles is the one on the trip 'inconspicuous' by Diana, we wait him out of the way as we can photograph her."

—JILL VAN DYKE in Ottawa, with Randolph Joyce in St. John's

Ottawa: (top), Charles and Diana in the capital; more hours for monarchy

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The NDP's quiet revolution

On the surface, it will not appear as a direct challenge to Edward Broadbent's leadership. But when the New Democrats held their 9th national convention in Regina this Canada Day weekend, the ritual plaudits of support for the leader will not fully hide the anger in his party. The size is still reeling from recent personal setbacks and its low standing in national polls. Especially in the West, there is also a sense that the Broadbent establishment in Ottawa is out of touch with the regions.

The convention was originally conceived as a forum for creating a new statement of principles to mark the 50th anniversary of the Regina Manifesto and the birth of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). But talk of the oblique challenges to Broadbent overtook the larger themes. The boldest attack came last week when former Saskatchewan premier Allan Rockwell and Alberta vice premier Grant Notley held simultaneous news conferences to table a proposed statement of principles for convention delegates to debate. The statement urged the party to adopt more flexible policies on regions, including Quebec's democratic right to secede. It also called for a new "social contract" between government, labor and business and for a "nuclear free zone" in Canada. But what sparked the pre-convention furore was the manner in which the statement was prepared. It was drafted up, without Broadbent's knowledge, by a loosely written group of prominent party members who held private meetings and a series of telephoned conferences.

The authors included former Saskatchewan attorney general Roy Romanow, Simon Fraser University professor John Richardson and longtime federal leadership candidate John Hurnay. A number of the 35 members who responded to the statement, but only two—Saskatchewan's Ron de Jong and British Columbia's Simon Fraser—publicly supported it. Broadbent met individually with some members of his caucus and asked that they not take part in what was being viewed as a western gang-up on the leader.

Even though the 10-page statement was drafted in private, Romanow denied that it was a threat to the party leadership. "I totally reject that," Hurnay said. Notley, on the other hand, was somewhat less categorical as his Calgary news conference. "Any leadership will find movements from time to time



Broadbent (top), Notley and Romanow: the proposal was drafted in private

within a party," Notley said. "Frankly, I would be surprised if our federal leader does not take a close look at this document." For his part, Broadbent's initial public response to the Hurnay-Notley statement was at least ambivalent. "I agree with 80 per cent of what's in the document, and the other is open for debate," he said.

The focus of western discontent is the NDP's go back to the party's last national convention two years ago. At that time a faction—again led by Hurnay, Notley and Romanow—squared off with Broadbent and the federal party establishment over the Constitution. Believing that Prime Minister Trudeau's original constitutional package ignored the regional nature of Canada, the western delegates latched with Broadbent forces in a fierce debate over the party's parliamentary support for the Trudeau package. Although the Broadbent position was upheld at the convention, many believed that the machinery had been set in motion for Broadbent's demise. With all the party's 33 federal seats in the West, members want to reassert greater control of the party. Said Notley: "The notion that somehow we can plan the totality of the destiny of Canada from our capital in Ottawa is not realistic in the 1980s."

The redefining for greater western influence is based in large measure on the stark desire for political survival. Polls show the party at 16 per cent and slipping. Combined with the stunning defeat of Hurnay's government last year and the party's losses in British Columbia this spring, the western wing is running scared. The caucus in Ottawa, says one staff member for an eye, is like "rats in a bag, all trying to save their own skins."

Last year, in an attempt to redefine itself and shore up its electoral base, the party announced that it would attempt to produce a new statement of principles at the Regina convention. But the process has been fraught with ongoing problems. These past proposals, however, including the Hurnay-Notley draft, which missed the deadline to have it introduced as a resolution—will reach the convention floor. Federal secretary Gerry Caplan said last week that he sent copies of the statement to all members of the federal caucus with a letter recommending that they allow it to be introduced. "However," western leaders regarded Caplan as a symbol of Ontario's control of the party machine. Perhaps because of the feelings of western members, Caplan said that he could "in large part" accept the Hurnay-Notley statement. But Caplan was less forthcoming about the way it was drafted. "You know I don't want to make a judgment or say anything about that,"

—DALE ESKIN in Regina.



Quebecair 737 on the tarmac: a nose-cone-to-nose-cone battle

Quebecair for Québécois

In a sudden move last week, the Quebec government opted to take full control of Quebecair, the Montreal-based regional airline that lost \$21.8 million in 1982. In rejecting federal proposals for a joint bailout, the Parti-Québécois government announced that it will invest an additional \$85.2 million, bringing total outlays over two years to \$69.6 million. In addition, Quebec City will pay outgoing President Alfred Hamel's holding company \$1.74 million for its 35.5 per cent share of the company—a move that will net a profit of \$294,000. And Quebec undertook to spend \$12 million a year for as long as it takes to restore the company's health.

It was, in sum, a steep price and, effectively, it was the end of a revolving-door partnership with Ottawa. The federal government had proposed that Quebec and Ottawa assume joint ownership and place the airline under Air Canada stewardship for two years. Having seen repeated that bid, Quebec, ironically, will have to seek approval for matters relating to the airline from the Canadian Transport Commission in Ottawa.

The struggle for control of Quebecair began in 1981. Hamel, relying on provincial grants in his Quebec-owned company, appealed to the provincial government for help in preventing a takeover of the airline by Nordair, which, in turn, is 85-per cent owned by Air Canada. Quebec City responded by investing \$15 million and began peering for a merger of Quebecair, Nordair and Air Ontario and a consolidation of their eastern routes. Meanwhile, as the nose bit all airlines, Quebecair's losses

mounted with the line's costly purchase of new Boeing 737s for \$70 million. After two years of negotiations with the federal government produced a stall, Quebec City opted for the takeover.

Ottawa could not ignore Quebecair's recovery. Ottawa controls appointments to the federal transport commission, which grants licenses, allocates routes and polices pricing policies. An aide to federal Transport Minister Jean-Luc Pélissier warned that negotiations on any new routes for Quebecair and its two subsidiaries, Régieair and Proair, could be tough. But Ottawa risks Quebec public opinion turning against it, as happened in 1975 when it refused to allow francophone air traffic controllers to join the French-Union. The Québecers in power in the provincial election that year on the wings of its defense of the controllers.

In announcing the takeover, provincial Transport Minister Michel Charbonneau said that accepting Ottawa's savings plan for the airline would have meant the "total abandonment of Quebec's interests." But Liberal MHA Clifford Lincoln denied the P.Q.'s decision as a "nationalist obsession" rather than sound economic policy. By relying on state aid in Quebec, the government admitted that voters would put the image of a "francophone province" in Canadian airspace above hard-headed business concerns. In explaining Quebec's decision to break off negotiations with Ottawa over Quebecair, Charbonneau said: "The logic is one: The Savoie gas used in having her team dropped in the snow bit all airlines, Quebecair's losses

—ANNE BEHRE in Montreal

Bennett plans a crackdown

The real William Bennett stood up in the B.C. Legislature last week. In the first throne speech since the re-election of his Social Credit government on May 5, Bennett, the former stockbroker, served notice that revisionist would be the watchword during his third term as premier. Emboldened by what he considered was a personal mandate, Bennett is poised to operate for the first time as a leader without debts in any quarter of the province.

The warning came in the last throne speech to be read by retiring Lt.-Gov. Henry Bell-Irving, who will be replaced by longtime Liberal cabinet minister Robert Rogers. It promised to set the tone for a reign of terror on the civil service, which is already locked in battle with the government in a dispute over a mid-contract raise negotiated last summer. The language of the throne speech was blunt. "My government believes in a more intensive and comprehensive public sector, far from being part of the solution to our economic difficulties, is in fact part of the problem." Much of the first half of the 10-minute speech dealt with the theme of curbing the bureaucracy to show an unfettered private sector to lead the way in recovery.

The speech was characteristically vague, but the message was unmistakable. The government is promising to eliminate programs, transfer some services to the private sector, slash regulatory burdens and cut government jobs and tighten the services and civil service wage restraints. "It is evident that taxpayers and the unemployed can no longer support the level of public services, including attendant employment levels, that has grown up in the past 30 years," Bell-Irving intoned. The crackdown may mean that Bennett and his strong-willed father, W.A.C. Bennett—British Columbia's longest-serving premier—have held power for almost 58 of those 30 years.

The wide grip of British Columbia's new Reconstruction is in keeping with Bennett's own background. He has always been a political conservative, weaned on the virtues of thrift, enterprise and personal sacrifice. But in his first 7½ years as premier, Bennett's leadership was marked by moderation, not by the radicalism of the Liberal Party in his coalition government and a rocky, bittersweet NDP opposition closing in on the left. In May's election, however, Bennett more than doubled his majority to 23 seats and gained ground nearly everywhere in the province—except in the northern area of the northern region, heavily infected with civil unrest.

vents, is angry territory to the Keweenaw. Bennett. He still refuses to establish a residence at the seat of government and continues from a hotel room near the legislature and his family home among the Ojibwa orchards. Bennett, the small-time businessman and politician, is a Secord, believes that government bureaucrats he swine might be driving closer new techniques to trip and tangle the private sector. Although the three speech did not take aim at specific programs, the prime candidate for Bennett's politics were derided during the election campaign and in subsequent hints they are.

• The Rentalman, the NDP-created overseer of landlord and tenant disputes whose budget has already been slashed and which may be eliminated.

• Some of the government's 18 glossy magazines and newsletters that promote BC industry, resources and culture.

• The BC Petroleum Corp., the mid-dle-man in the province's natural gas industry. It could be cut back or disbanded.

Government agencies and services that survive the axe will be subject to further cutbacks and staff layoffs. The severest measures will extend beyond the government itself to school boards, municipalities, hospital districts—anybody with direct or indirect access to the public till. Another likely casualty of Bennett's axe could be the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia—the provincially run insurance business established by the NDP administration 50 years ago—parts of which could be sold to the private sector.

To further smooth the road to recovery for the private sector, the government promises to "improve our industrial relations so as to foster greater productivity and international competitiveness." Another axe, says Bennett, will cut the postage of the speech on a planned assault on the BC Labour Code, with private firms authorized to shed their union contracts, and to diminish the powers of the Labour Relations Board.

• Landed NDP Opposition, cranked into tight quarters in the 85-year-old granite legislative building on Victoria's waterfront, could only watch with bitter dismay as Bennett sent for the wrecking crew. As for the shaggy rhinoceros in the Opposition caucus, many have been hauled away by other parties' were defeated in the election. NDP Leader David Bennett has announced that he will resign as well, further focusing power and public attention on Bennett, the son of the strongest premier in British Columbia's history, who seven decades ago was slain by his father's maul—BIO TAFER in Victoria.

Self-help for the jobless

By carpenter Bob Kelly's count, he has applied for 500 jobs this year and been rejected each time. But if the 36-year-old Colaprico failed only recently to find work since his layoff 14 months ago, he at least found satisfaction helping people in equally dire straits find jobs. As cofounder of the South Calgary Employment Group, Kelly has helped put 190 unemployed Colapricos to work at everything from cooking to construction.

The Prince Edward Island native had worked steadily since he moved to Calgary in 1964. But last February, after being out of work for almost a year, Kelly's confidence began to waver. After

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Calgary's Kelly risks and bolsters

attending mass at St. Gerard's Roman Catholic Church in south Calgary with another parishioner, Ross Martin, Kelly says that they "started talking about how bad things were for so many people." Kelly and Martin, who had been laid off after 25 years in the oil industry, drew up a proposal for a weekly group meeting as a way to find jobs for unemployed workers.

St. Gerard's donated the church hall, the Knights of Columbus contributed a telephone and the church bulletin announced the formation of the new group. Twenty people showed up for the first meeting in mid-March. All are currently registered, running the great of

occupations from engineers and lawyers to nurses and domestic helpers. Of the 190 jobs found so far, 64 have provided permanent, full-time work. Members help each other with the preparation of resumes and trade hints on how to apply for jobs. "Anyone can use a little instruction," says Kelly, who has taken on a major portion of the counselling of potential employers. In the first 70 meetings he found 30 jobs, 30 of them full-time. Some employers who were unable to provide jobs offered a discount to group members as construction materials for jobs elsewhere. Members also share jobs. Kelly and a lawyer recently teamed up on a \$12-an-hour job doing on-site checks, each making \$6 an hour. Since neither employers nor employees are charged job-finding fees, the group takes money to advertise. But there has been enough free publicity to spread word of the hotline telephone number (255-6598), which is manned daily by group volunteers.

Among the group's successes has been a man who landed a \$40,000-a-year sales job and a woman who got work cooking for a farm family at \$500 a month plus board. Because of the group's success, word has permeated beyond the parish, and now these sister churches have affiliated themselves with the group. According to Kelly, the secret of success is persistence, combined with careful screening of candidates sent out to jobs. "We refer only three people at a time to an employer," he said. "People are getting sick of going to Canada Manpower and finding 100 other competitors for every job they're sent out to."

One potential employer, Jim Galpin, assistant branch manager of Professional Associates, is still searching group members for a sales position. "My experience with Canada Manpower hasn't been that good," he says. "I was very impressed with Bob's initiative. That type of self-motivation was what I was interested in."

For many who have joined, the Calgary group is a last resort. "We have 65 highly qualified professionals on the list right now," says Kelly. "We have people who were making \$300,000 a year, and they can't find a job anywhere. They're willing to do anything." The Kellys have just found temporary work. In mid-March, he and his wife, Audrey, 32, started as cook and camp attendant, respectively, at a drilling camp 22 km from Hays, Alta. Although Kelly's work problems are temporary ever, he is still concerned about the people who are languishing on unemployment. For them, the most group is

—STANLEY SWANES in Calgary



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THE WAY WE ARE

By Val Ross

On a July 1, formerly Dominion Day, 34,363,181 Canadians mark their first official Canada Day. The legislation to sever another strand in Canada's colonial connection with Britain was passed by the Senate last October after an emotional debate. But, no matter what it is called, most Canadians will celebrate the day with a champagne toast.

For the millions of neglect, nostalgia and profound ambivalence about what it means to be a Canadian. Twelve thousand members of the Monarchist League are boycotting the new name in their fight to restore the day's traditional title. Canada's richest town, Markham, Ont., has no plans for festivities at all. Its largest city, Toronto, is spending \$4,200 on a modest fireworks display at the city's Harbourfront. By contrast, Ottawa is staging a junk-churn of the national anthem with 1841, Quo, Windsor is once again offering a

bravas on 116th birthday, the accumulated results covering the turbulent years between 1971 and 1981 give Canada a more precise if not a more profound self-knowledge than ever before. Gathered by 32,440 statisticians, from Black Friday, Nfld., to Old Crow, in the Yukon, the 47 million pages of data bring into focus a nation-wide portrait of divisions, disaffection, dogged struggle and hopeful change. Thanks to Statistics Canada, Canadians now know that they go to an average of four films a year—more than the British, but far less than the Soviets, who average 19. They read more (the number of the books jumped by 36 per cent between 1971 and 1981), and in one month alone, last January, they spent \$790 million in restaurants.

The data chart the rise of the West and the relative stability of the East's peopled impoverishment; they show escalating divorce rates and persistent unemployment; they tell the story of women leaving their homes and freeways streaming out of Quebec in search of a living wage. On the other hand, they reveal that

into (3.8 million were) and how many fresh loaves they had (more than 180,000 had none). For the most part, Canadians coughed because they were aware that the invasion of privacy brought ultimate benefits. As a result of the 1981 census, political boundaries will be redrawn and 26 new parliamentary constituencies created; businessmen will be better equipped to make their bidding decisions; and all levels of government can apportion grants and program funds more equitably. Now, the federal government is about to push the limits of the co-operative public's acquiescence even farther. Refractive General Robert Kaylin wants to give the proposed civilian intelligence agency access to the confidential census files. Statistics Canada, determined to guard a precious tool, has complained vigorously.

Everywhere in the country Canadians were packing up and moving. City dwellers left for suburbs and small towns. Montreal lost the most people to its surrounding towns—fully 33 per cent of the population. But no Canadian city lost its heart to the blank fields of rubble and islands of darkness that blot some U.S. cities. And in Newfoundland, after nearly two decades of provincial government attempts to depopulate the outports and move people into the towns, residents were simply drifting back. Lights there once more from the tiny settlements of Petite Perle and Random Island on the Atlantic coast.

As the country changed its patterns of settlement, a restless people moved restlessly across. It not only made Canadians were even more

regions of the country would have blossomed, then wilted, some faded a little, and still others grew so slowly that the changes could only be detected with patient watching. Stouffville faded in Vancouver than anywhere on the continent outside New York. Alberta and British Columbia had the highest concentration of people earning \$600,000 or more and the highest number of homes with more than three bathrooms. Central Canada slowly lost its economic pre-eminence—slipping two percentage points in the contribution to the national total and losing population too. But, as Central Canada slumped, Maritime incomes rose in relative terms 34th, the leveling of regional disparities did little to smooth the country's enthusiasm. Internal squabbling. Eulach Camp, former president of the Progressive Conservative party, concluded at the end of the decade "National unity is far from being a dead issue. Instead, there may be as many as 20 million people out there ready and eager to march against it."

The reversed direction of trans-Canadian traffic at the beginning of the 1980s signalled a psychic as well as an economic shift back to the familiar and the traditional. Of all the regions, Atlantic Canada is the most ethnically homogeneous (about 90 per cent are of British descent) and among the most religious. It also has the largest families and the highest rate of home ownership. But Bobbie Innes, 80, secretary of the Newfoundland Historical Society "The nostalgia of the world are gone. But Newfoundlanders are still decent, respectable people."

The census data made it clear that for many Canadians the immediate future will be anything but decent and respect-



work of carnivals and concerts, and Vancouver is serving a giant birthday cake. At the same time, the country's oldest settlement, Quebec City, plans an elaborate fête, including a giant cake, a choral concert by La Troupe Via L'Éton Vert and a torchlight féria on the St. Lawrence. But it is no secret that the festivities are primarily an excuse for the tourist city's main summer festival, St. Jean Baptiste Day, which took place a week earlier.

The contradictions that are apparent on Canada Day are typical of the nation. As the poet Al Purdy has put it, Canada is "an appetitive nation, inclined into existence." If Canada could be viewed through the young soul of a giant telescope, so that its vastness would shrink to one concentrated panorama, the image would confirm that the more the country changes, the more it remains problematically, dividedly, confoundingly the same. In the absence of a telescope, Canada's 11th census, taken on June 8, 1981, provides a reasonably clear snapshot. This week, as the country cele-

regional disparities seem to be dissolving, that new colors are appearing, peacefully for the most part, in the multicultural population, and that a growing number of anglophones, especially in Western Canada, are voting for bilingualism by leaving French. This is, according to the census, a nation of self-debaters unwilling to give themselves credit even when it is due. Canvassing is popular misperception, the figures show that the Canadian economy, far from underperforming throughout the 1970s, absorbed proportionately twice as many workers as that of the United States.

Even in the matter of its collective ethos confirmed the continuity of the nation's special character. More than 96 per cent of the 8.3 million forms were obediently returned within three weeks of Census Day. Canada was willingly told the government computer whether they were able-



as well as Americans in 1980 they spent roughly \$1 billion on international airfare.

Domestic travel rose by 84 per cent between 1975 and 1980. In part, the explanation was that people simply wanted to stay in touch across the country's bewildering expanses—the same urge that makes Canadians the world's greatest users of telephone. But, more than that, the frantic motion signalled an increasingly desperate search for jobs and money. Historian George Grant has said that Canadians have "a big, mild, intense passion" to make money. And for most of the decade cars, vans, trucks and trailers sped westward on the Trans-Canada Highway. During the oil boom Alberta alone absorbed as many as 48,000 newcomers a year. By 1980 the headlights focused direction as the West's economy collapsed, but the traffic never stopped.

If the decade could be viewed on a high-speed film, some

while youth unemployment is hovering above 20 per cent, and the number of single parent families has risen to 749,000.

But the picture brightened when compared to other places and other times. When Canada held North America's first census in 1966, it found a population of only 3,315, including five negroes and one trader, unadmitted to keep warm and survive. Now the 34 million people are among the longest-living in the world, third only to Japan and Scandinavia. Although medicine is under attack, the country's low infant mortality rate of 10.4 per 1,000 is well above its giant neighbor to the south, where 12.5 in every 1,000 infants die. Family income rose by 38.5 per cent, largely because of earnings by working wives. People slipped more—on any given day 11.5 million Canadians engage in physical exercise. They smoked less, suffered only a marginal increase in violent crime and died far less often from accidents. But every 30 years, as a result of that awfully, intimate instrument called the census, they see themselves in a very different way. □

From old country to a new mosaic



COVER

When Imrich Khan, an engineer, arrived in Calgary 25 years ago, he was the first East Indian in the city. At least that is how it seemed to him. "There just weren't any others," he says. "I was a small Canadian city at the end of the world. I mingled with the Canadians and they accepted me." Now he can enjoy such cultural amenities as being able to dine out at his favorite curry restaurant, the Taj Hotel. And last week, along with other East Indians, he attended a dinner dance for the Sri Lanka Canada Association. Khan admits that immigration has irreversibly changed the character of his adopted city. He is equally impressed by the effects of an influx of eastern Canadians. "There are so many people from other parts of the country here," he said, "that a native Calgarian is a nearly invisible figure whenever I'm around."

When the 1981 census put a mirror to Canada's features, they appeared at first glance to be familiar. While birth rates plummeted, eighty-four per cent had been born in Canada, and 76 per cent had at least one British ancestor. Even the francophone former leader of the Quebec Liberal party, Claude Ryan, had obvious Irish antecedents, and a man by the name of Waldo Morneau held the title of paramount chief of the Cree Nation. But in large areas of English Canada the country was no longer a primarily Anglo-Saxon nation. And the latest data confirmed that Canada's immigrant population was growing. While the actual num-

ber of arrivals in the 1970s dropped in comparison to the 1960s, more newcomers were staying in Canada. At the same time, the Canadian birthrate was falling. As a result, between 1971 and 1981 the foreign-born population rose by one per cent or almost 250,000 people.

Meanwhile, Canadians themselves were on the move. As they spread and transplanted themselves in the search for a better life, many Canadians found themselves struggling in their own homeland. According to the census, almost one in three Canadians had changed provinces. Economists flocked to Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario, while the Ontarians and, in greater numbers, Quebecers, left their native province.

But many Canadians who tore themselves from their childhood homes welcomed the influx of immigrants. Edmonton was dubbed "Canada's Capital of Houris" because it leads the country in drug abuse, child abuse, wife battering, alcoholism, mental breakdowns and suicide. Edmonton's mayor, Joe Poretti, blamed the social disintegration on a lack of social services to cope with the new arrivals. Calgary's mayor, Ralph Klein, had a harsher assessment. He blamed it on the "western creeps and bums."

Disillusioned, many abandoned the

western dream, although too late for the subject to explore the trend. Lindsay Palmer, for one, returned to Winnipeg in September, 1981, after working for nine months with the Alberta Heritage Fund in Edmonton. "We missed our friends, our cottage and the older buildings of Winnipeg," he explained. "In Edmonton everything looks too new."

Sean Johnson, 35, returned to St. John's, Nfld., after looking for work in Toronto and Port McMurray, Alta. Despite numerous friends in Port McMurray's enclave of cold Newfoundlanders, she fled rather than the town that Syreeta built her in the northern cold. "If I can't work here, I won't work," she said after she arrived home. "This is where I will be." Molson Newfoundland Brewery Ltd. has even designed a commercial to appeal to the growing number of newcomers. In India Beer ad shows an airport scene of a young man emerging from a dusty truck, embracing his family and then joining his childhood buddies for a drink while a voice cracks, "Coming back, I've made it back. I'm here to stay."

But there are parts of the country that have changed beyond a returning son's or daughter's recognition. Often old neighbors have moved away to make way for new arrivals. Paul Sillman, a columnist and the editor of the Winnipeg Sun, was born in that multicultural

report. Winnipeg's famous North End, "On the street where I lived," he recalls, "they were all Poles, Ukrainians, Jews. A Polish was a new breed of a Jew." Now, he notes, the ethnic mix has changed to include Portuguese, Vietnamese and Latin Americans.

According to the census, the total number of immigrants rose by only 17.3 per cent between 1971 and 1981, but there were significant shifts in where they came from. In fact, in the last two years of that period, less than one-third came from Europe. Meanwhile, the number of Asian-born immigrants more than tripled to a total of 543,965—large enough to replace the United States in second place as a source of new Canadians. For the first time in its history, Canada was becoming the land of first resort for waves of poor and oppressed people from troubled spots around the world. No longer was it related by a peaceful border and its vast distance from areas of war, mass cruelty and dictatorship. The era of mass air travel made it an increasingly accessible first haven. The Caribbean islands sent 153 per cent more people, to bring the total to 132,046, and South and Central America's contribution rose 189 per cent to total 107,980. And as a Central American proverb, especially threatened to explode, the influx of immigrants from that region seemed certain to increase dramatically in the future.

Immigration Minister Lloyd Axworthy, asked by Molson's what the influx of new arrivals meant to Canada, replied that, for one thing, "we get better restaurants." In fact, restaurants are probably the best first introduction that most Canadians have to the new ethnic flavors in their communities. One modest restaurant, formerly a greasy spoon perched on the edge of Calgary's stockyards, bears a perfect sign of the times. "The Golden Calabash" is Vietnamese Food," it reads. But another common point of contact, the public school system, is more problematic. In Toronto there is a continuing lively quarrel in many languages over whether tax money should



be used to pay for classes for immigrant children in their mother tongues. Gladys Chien, a waitress from Uruguay who co-edited the Centre for Racial Bilingual People, warns, "The light is not over, and we are in the vanguard of it."

In addition to their cultures, the newcomers have brought their values, their attitudes and, in some cases, their money. In the past five years alone, 3,591 immigrants entered Canada under the "entrepreneur and self-employed" category, bringing with them \$1.6 billion worth of investment and employing more than 2,000 Canadians. One immigrant entrepreneur is John Chang, 34, who arrived in Toronto from Taiwan six years ago. Now the second owner of the Elite Garment factory, which manufactures Mao jackets, he points out proudly that he provides jobs for 18 Canadians.

But the newcomers have also brought their political values and occasionally their political anger. Vancouver is home to Canada's only consulate general of the Republic of Khazakhstan—a non-existent state that represents the dream of separatist Sikhs to have a homeland in-

dependent from Hindu India. In Toronto's left-wing and right-wing factions of the Chinese community have fought over whether a statue should be erected in memory of the nationalist hero Sun Yat-sen (predecessor to the authoritarian leader Gen. Chiang Kai-shek) or of a Chinese laborer representing the thousands of coolies who built the C.P.R. To some Canadians these quarrels seem absurd and needless. To James Fleming, minister of state for multiculturalism, they raise questions. The exasperated minister told Molson's, "I don't want to deal with old-country politics."

But Fleming would deal with the way old and new-country cultures coexist within Canada. Last month he launched a \$750,000 all-party parliamentary inquiry into racism. The inquiry was triggered by a rash of incidents in Calgary wherein hate spray-painted Sikh temples with swastikas. And in British Columbia, young people have beaten up Vietnamese refugees in

Montreal taxi drivers have actively tried to keep business from their Haitian-born customers. Still, there is no statistical proof that racism is increasing. And Fred Anthony Richmond, who emigrated from Britain 23 years ago, points out that compared to his native country, which only last summer witnessed ugly clashes between blacks and whites in the poorer suburbs, Canada's young people has adapted remarkably well to having one of the world's higher immigration rates. For Calgary, host of a Winnipeg radio program, agrees. But Calgary, who arrived from the Philippines in 1976. "I'm going to spend the rest of my life in Canada because it's the best place in the world to raise kids. Life here is great." But what does a Filipino radio announcer in Winnipeg have in common with a Vietnamese restaurateur in Montreal or a Newfoundland in Port McMurray? One native-born Canadian, Charles Pangnuk, a Sikh and western singer who with the band Broadcasting Corp. offered the only real answer. "No idea," he said. "But we are all brothers."

—Val Ross is Toronto.



The rise of a bilingual Canadian elite



COVER

By Linda Diebel

John Crosbie declared during his successful run for the federal Conservative leadership that 20 million bilingual Canadians should not consider themselves "some sort of aristocracy" from which all future prime ministers will be drawn. That doomed his campaign irretrievably. Crosbie apparently failed to realize that you reach an aristocracy already controls many of the main levers of power in the nation and enjoys the perks of being a powerful new force. For bilingualism means money, the political rewards are undeniable. As Tony Mc David Kilgour, who speaks for the Edmonton-Strommen constituency in both official languages, commented, "The days of aristocrats in Canada in politics are past."

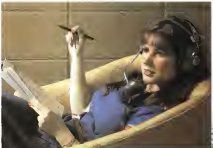
Indeed, the recent rise of a new elite able to speak fluently both of Canada's official languages is one of the most dramatic social and political changes that the country has ever witnessed. Only 14 years after the passage of the Official Languages Act countless high-profile Canadians pride themselves on their hard-earned bilingualism. Bilingual Canadians can still there professionally in many parts of the country. But increasingly they are being as in-demand as many of the top jobs in politics, government and foreign service, the judiciary and several of the professions, including economics and public relations, demand a proficiency in both founding languages.

Bilingual Canadians already have all the stripes of a privileged class. They tend to come from middle- or upper-income families. They have a better education and are already earning sig-

nificantly more than their unilingual counterparts. Bilingual couples are perpetuating the trend by sending their children to the thousands of French immersion and English-language schools. Clearly, language reform has taken hold not only among federal politicians and civil servants but in the nation's cultural and educational institutions and business and professional ranks as well. "Bilingualism is basic to being Canadian," said bilingual Vancouver economist John Helwell. Concluded nuclear physicist John Madden, another bilingual professional: "If you believe in Canada as an entity, then you speak both of its official languages. It's as simple as that."

The census statistics underscore the trend. Previously unpublished data, recently compiled by Statistics Canada and analyzed by Madden, provide a detailed portrait of Canada's newest elite. Although the number of bilingual Canadians increased to 15.3 per cent from 13.5 per cent between 1971 and 1981, statistics reveal that with pos-

sible 67 per cent for English and 13.4 per cent for French speakers—clearly demonstrates that anglophones are becoming bilingual at a faster pace than their French counterparts. The bilingual population remains predominantly (80.7 per cent) francophone in origin. But westerners, often maligned for anti-French sentiments, now lead the march to bilingualism, at least in percentage terms. "We make a mockery of our own image, don't we?" says Edmonton political columnist Don Brad. Indeed, in Alberta 45,945 anglophones have become bilingual since 1971, a 107.8-per cent increase in a decade. In neighbouring British Columbia, where French immersion is equally popular, 45,000 anglophones—an 82 per cent increase—became fluent in both languages between 1971 and 1981. With a larger English-speaking population base, there is certain to be a greater increase in bilingualism among anglophones than francophones. In Quebec, the heartland of bilingualism in Canada, anglophone to learn French—remains impressive.



gress has been made by the 403,355 English-speaking and 264,950 French-speaking Canadians who have become bilingual over the past 10 years. (The census criterion in this case is English or French as mother tongue.) In Alberta, of Statistics Canada's family, language and social section, says that the percentage increase in bilingual speakers who previously spoke only one of the official languages—a stunning

The presence of Canadian able to function in both official languages is already being felt in academic and professional circles. In 1981, 495,855 bilingual Canadians held university degrees. By comparison, 528,470 unilingual anglophones had degrees—only slightly less than double. That figure becomes even more dramatic when the population base is taken into account. The census revealed that 14.8 per cent of biling-

ual Canadians hold university degrees, compared with 2.8 per cent of the unilingual francophone and 7.5 per cent of the unilingual anglophone populations.

As those graduates enter the work force, particularly the professions, they generally earn more than their unilingual counterparts. On average, Canada's bilingual workers earn \$29,665 annually, compared with \$28,970 for unilingual anglophones and \$24,335 for unilingual francophones. The financial edge applies to all higher-paid professions, including management, administration, science, engineering, medicine, health-related occupations and the social sciences. Said Michel Ote, a member of Statistics Canada's economic characteristics division: "The socioeconomic status of these people are less indicative of language than factors such as social condition and intelligence. But there's no denying that they are significant."

On the other side of the linguistic barrier, Joe Andros-Boulet was named in Quebec-Nordwest, where little English was spoken, and his first real contact with the language was at the Université de Montréal. Now a senior economist with the Economic Council of Canada, he says that it is impossible to be a unilingual francophone economist when 96 per cent of the literature is in English. "Maybe in France," he adds, "but not in North America."

When praise is lavished on the pioneers of official bilingualism, Lester Pearson, who made the first move to transform Ottawa into a bilingual city, is cited as often as Pierre Trudeau. Under Trudeau's tutelage the Official Languages Act was adopted in 1969 after a bitter debate in Parliament. John Diefenbaker warned of civil chamber justice and other hints to punish unilingual civil servants.

But the changes, although not always smooth, have been relatively easy, especially in the federal bureaucracy. The Public Service Commission reports that 58,363 positions, representing 39.3 per cent of the federal civil service, apart from crown corporations, are classified as bilingual. Eighty-two per cent of the bureaucrats filling these posts are already bilingual, compared to 47 per cent in 1971—due in part to the estimated \$39



million spent annually on language training. Commissioner of Official Languages Marcel Valet, a 27-year civil service veteran, seldom recalls a time when "you wouldn't hear too much French spoken around Ottawa. The French were too embarrassed." Now, he is more optimistic that both languages are becoming acceptable. "I'm looking out of my office window at the [National] Arts Centre and remembering a time when there was in French there at all in this city," he said, referring to the fact that the centre currently features many French plays. "We're getting there," he declared.

One of Lester Pearson's most loyal adherents is John Madden, president of the Vancouver-based Montreal Pacific Research Limited. He applauds a Pearson-inspired program that enabled him in 1974, when he was a young Treasury Board computer wizard, to spend a year in Quebec City as an all-expenses-paid, one-year language submersal. According to Madden, the need for French does not often arise in scientific circles. Still, he admits that when he once had to deal with Quebec Telephone executives in Rimouski his ability to speak French was a distinct business advantage. "What added me was in the how great they were that I spoke French. They had assumed I didn't," he added. That reaction to bilingual anglophones is still common.

As more Canadians become bilingual,

many unilingual citizens find that their inability to speak the second official language is becoming an increasingly evident handicap. In the wake of Crosbie's lean journalists, particularly, have scrutinized their own lack of language skills. Recently, Le Devoir Ottawa's correspondent Michel Vastel criticized the unilingual English national columnists who attacked Crosbie's lack of French. "They have been there in Ottawa [these men as long]," he said. "They can't speak or understand a word of French, they can't talk to one-quarter of the country, but that doesn't keep them from pontificating about 'national politics.'" Bilingual William Johnson, a columnist for The Globe and Mail who has reported as Quebecer many years, was even more blunt: "The Quiet Revolution will not be complete," he wrote in support of Vastel, "until all who aspire to a national role in any sector of Canadian life take for granted—without objection—that they must know English and French." For his part, the Edmonton Journal's Brad was one of the few members of his profession who made the difficult commitment to bilingualism more than 10 years ago. Said Brad: "Bilingualism gives me a perception of national politics that a lot of journalists simply don't have."

Current education trends indicate clearly that fewer Canadian children will grow up with the disadvantage of being unilingual. French immersion is

still awaking the country, with more than 100,000 children enrolled in 1983, compared to 38,906 in 1977-1978, that some experts criticize the progress. Simon Fraser University linguistics professor Hector Hammarly maintains that immersion produces "little butakes of the French language." At the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Prof. Paul Olson said that he is impressed by the rise of "a new cultural elite." He says that French immersion students are most likely,

"given family background, to form the foundations of a strata of upper-level civil servants and managerial class." But that is precisely why Peggy Robertson, director of Canadian Parents for French in Richmond, B.C., has enrolled her two sons in French immersion schools. "I don't want to raise them to be stuck in Richmond or in British Columbia—if they don't want to be—for the rest of their lives," she said. Robertson and her husband, John, a general manager for Cdnair Limited, exemplify the type of parents who are sending their children to immersion. They tend to be bright, upwardly mobile and ambitious for themselves and their children. At Vancouver's L'École St-James, students often have professional or managerial parents. Nine-year-old Georgia Henderson's mother is a professor at the British Columbia Institute of Technology, and 13-year-old Victoria Clark's father is vice-president of Cdnair. Zoltanbath Canada Limited. These children do speak French, although sometimes with difficulty. Even more important, they understand the language. Commented L'École principal Andy Tallman: "Believe me, their parents aren't taking what a practical, acute knowledge of the language will be to their children."

In Quebec many francophones are also learning a second language. Despite charges that Premier René Lévesque's Parti Québécois government is undermining the teaching of English, Yalden insists that Quebec is the only province to make the study of a

second language compulsory in secondary school. Indeed, 98 per cent of all high school students in the province study English, compared to the 33 per cent of their Ontario counterparts who try to master French. According to the census, in the past 10 years 85,285 Quebec anglophones have become bilingual—a 38.1-per-cent increase—compared to 253,552 francophones, or a 30.3-per-cent increase, who learned English. While anglophones represent 16.9 per cent of the population—down from 18.1 in 1971—there is a linguistic vitality among those who have chosen to result in



in the province. "There are no serious problems for the medical profession because we speak both languages," said Montreal physician Dr. Sherin Grossman Lyndon. "Besides, it is far more difficult to overcome socioeconomic and cultural barriers than linguistic ones." And Patricia Lewis, a public relations officer for the city of Montreal, said that she finally feels comfortable in Quebec even though it has always been her home, because she now speaks both languages fluently. When The Montreal Star closed in 1978, the 31-year-old former journalist immersed herself in a French environment and became fully

bilingual. "There are more things I enjoy in French than ever before," she said. "It always used to be a chore to listen to French. No longer."

Despite the progress being made in advancing the cause of bilingualism, many sociologists are concerned that a high proportion of francophones are still being assimilated into the anglophone culture—and losing their language facility in the process. Still, Yalden contends that the assimilation rate has actually decreased over the past five years. At the same time, the percentage of anglophone assimilation into the francophone world is higher than that for French-speaking Canadians. Over the past decade in Canada, 83,841 anglophones—a 76.8-per-cent increase—switched to speaking French at home. In Quebec, 33,375 anglophones became French speakers, representing a 62.4-per-cent increase. As well, in the rest of the country 33,375 anglophones were assimilated—an astonishing 96.8-per-cent increase. Ottawa-area MP Jean-Robert Gauthier, co-chairman of a special parliamentary committee on official languages, agrees with Yalden that the language situation has improved for francophones in Canada. "We're not told to speak white anymore," he declared.

Clearly, the further promotion of bilingualism will encounter obstacles and resistance. But Yalden, for one, who is paid to point out the inadequacies of the official bilingualism program in his yearly reports, is satisfied with the progress being made. "We have nothing to bang our heads about," he says. "We have made very respectable strides over the past few years." The advances accomplished over the past decade are undeniably impressive. Across the river from Ottawa, in Gatineau, Que., 13-year-old Michel-Charles Boudet gives up every Saturday morning to take part in English lessons. In Vancouver, Margaret Cook, also 13, has already spent seven years in French immersion. Says Margot: "If you speak two languages you can have a better future." Interestingly, it suggests a command of both languages will be essential to the future of all Canadians. ☐

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Tales of five vibrant cities in transition



COVER

As Canada underwent a decade of sweeping change, nowhere were the transformations more visible than in its cities. From Halifax to Vancouver, city cores were revived or beautified. As wealth shifted, the fortunes of the nation's cities rose and fell with those of their regions. And everywhere there was a vitality that was reshaping Canada's urban centres.

Vancouver indulges itself with not one but two Polar Bear swims each year. More than 2,000 swimmers take the traditional Jan 3 splash in the frigid waters of English Bay 15 days later. Ultramarathon Canadian, celebrating the New Year according to the Julian calendar, do the same. Somewhere the ritual does not seem as familiar as a swim on the Pacific coast as it does in other parts of Canada, where swimmers have to chop through the ice for their annual first with hypothermia. In Vancouver the crowds of spectators are likely to include tennis players in summer whites taking time off from a few sets at courts in nearby Stanley Park, which are open most of the year. Mid climate aside, Canada's third-largest metropolitan area can boast a magnificent physical setting of mountains and ocean that once moved playwright Tennessee Williams to call it the second most beautiful city in the world—after Venice.

Buildings—new ones and old—continue to tell the city's story. The dazzling downtown core features a new multilayered, glass-enclosed court-

house complex designed by noted architect Arthur Erickson—proof of the city's new sophistication. Last week Canada's first dome stadium opened officially. At a cost of \$126 million, the rounded 60,000-seat playground is a special source of civic pride, particularly because it was built at less cost than it would take just to cover Montreal's roofless Olympic Stadium. The translucent Fibreglas dome of the stadium rises above the shores of False Creek, an inlet close to the heart of the city, and in three years will be the site of a world-class transportation fair.

The courthouse and the stadium are concrete signs of faith in Vancouver's future. The city continues to be the first destination for thousands of immigrants and migrants from other provinces who dream of a better future. The area's 7,000 Israeli Medians, many of whom arrived in the city as refugees from Detroit 101 Arnie's Ugavies, are building what may be the first Ju-

den is now struggling with the problem of teaching 32,943 pupils, almost half of whom speak a first language other than English. At Lord Strathcona Elementary School in the east end of the city, where 90 per cent of the 844 pupils are of Asian descent, a Cantonese interpreter must be present at home and school meetings. But few Vancouverites resent making accommodations for the newcomers. After all, they live in a cosmopolitan city facing the Orient.

—MALCOLM GRAY in Vancouver

When Calgary's Hasty Tower opened its doors on June 30, 1988, the first customers had been waiting for more than five hours in the cold, blustery morning to get in. The 500-foot tower, the tallest of its kind in North America, rivaled the attention of Canada's ragsdale capital. When workers were still constructing its iron skeleton, protesters demonstrated for a look. When they poured

employment was tripled to 18 per cent. The downtown core has become a letter of empty office buildings and abandoned construction sites. Still, for all the concern about the city's future, Californians welcome the relocation in the pace of development. "Things were totally out of perspective here. It was unrealistic to think it could continue," said Linda Sanderson, an IBM administrator who followed her former husband to Calgary from Winnipeg four years ago. "There will never be another boom like this."

Indeed, bustle has been found in Calgary ever since the turn of the century, when four legendary cattle barons—who came to be known as the Big Four—fenced in the range and launched the famous Stampede in 1912. Over the years successive waves of land speculators and miners have developed a penchant for risk-taking and a hunger for the big strike. That strike arrived with the 1947 discovery of the Leduc oilfield, North America's largest at the time. But the city's fortunes multiplied during the world energy crisis in the early 1970s. The latest group of hunters consisted of rich oil company execu-

tives. Suburbs inched into the lap of the Rocky Mountains to the west. Industrial parks sprang for miles over the prairie. But affluence also led to dislocation. Calgary ranks second only to Vancouver for the highest income, home-ownership and crime rates. It also has a consistently higher inflation rate than the national average.

But Sanderson seems to symbolize best the attitude of most Calgarians to the trend. "A lot of people came here just to make a fast buck," she said. "What did they contribute to Calgary? I haven't the foggiest idea. The boom ended, but it had to stop somewhere."

—SUSANNE THORNTON in Calgary

During its 140-year history, Toronto has been one of Canada's least-loved cities. The early Victorian settler and writer Anna Jameson found it "strangely messy and unpleasantly a fourth- or fifth-rate provincial town with the pretensions of a capital city." Lacking the natural beauty of Vancouver or the European sophistication of Montreal, Toronto was generally considered to be ugly, backward, repressed and infuriatingly smug. Many

built the Spadina expressway into the downtown area. The fight was really about preserving downtown neighbourhoods and it marked a dramatic change in the city's development policies. In his 1988 official city plan, Charlesworth set to increase downtown housing and control commercial development. He had already put a 45-foot limit on the height of most new buildings.

Although it is Canada's most ethnically diverse city, the favored destination of 80 per cent of all immigrants to Canada, Metropolitan Toronto has remained remarkably free of the explosive tensions that plague some major U.S. cities. In 1980 more than 80 ethnic groups speaking 80 languages made up 53.3 per cent of Metro's three-million population, compared with 31 per cent of non-British origin in 1971.

The boom in construction along the city's skyline is testimony to its continuing prosperity. Spurred in part by a shift in wealth from Montreal, Toronto remains the undisputed financial capital of Canada, despite competition from Calgary. It is the old industrial district on the Lake Ontario waterfront and at the nearby CN railway lands, a dramatic



matchboxes, or paperhouses, in North America (it is the suburb of Burnaby). The 84,000-member Chinese community has created the most vibrant Chinatown in Canada. Covering eight square blocks, the area is crowded with 160 stores and restaurants offering everything from fish bladders to backyard meals.

On an institutional level the lively mix of ethnic groups creates bureaucratic headaches. The city's school ap-

proaches, various sports teams gathered at midnight to watch. Editorials declared that the tower, built mainly as a tourist attraction, was symbolic of the city's progressive spirit and forward-looking character.

But two years ago, as the effects of the worldwide recession and shrinking profits finally struck Calgary, the city that had facilitated the nation's economic shutdown and stopped. Since 1980 un-



employment, and overnight Calgary became Canada's third-largest head office city. Attracted by the wealth, easterners moved West in one of the greatest mass migrations in Canadian history. At one point, Calgary was growing at the rate of 2,500 people a month. The rapid growth led to a redrawing of the cityscape. The thirty-two-story downtown was leveled as the value of building permits soared climbed to \$1 billion an-

Canadian shared the sentiments of the Montreal Canadian's Boris (Boon Boon) Goodwin, who said, "I like my good life, and I sure as hell like seeing them spend Toronto."

The transformation of Hogtown into what former mayor David Crombie called "the most moved city on the continent" accelerated during the 1990s. In 1971 a coalition of neighborhood groups and newspapers defeated a proposal to

multimillion-dollar development project will take place over the next decade. The city's (youthful) cultural life is evident in the proliferation of art galleries in the Queen Street district, the new Key Theatre concert hall and the plans for a new opera house.

Still, Toronto may never overcome its early of older, more glamorous cities. Indeed, when Toronto Life magazine recently asked artists and real estate de-

vlogger Charles Pachter to suggest a way of improving the city, he replied, "Redeveloped surfaces to New York." But for those critics who complain that Toronto culture is as flimsy as Celine Dion's hits and as indigestible as nouvelle cuisine, Pachter also has a rebuttal. From his freshly renovated downtown house, within blocks of the Art Gallery of Ontario, Chalmers and the boutiques of Queen Street, Pachter revels in the diversity and promise of a still youthful city. "Toronto is always in the process of becoming," he says. "Ten years hence it looks headed you in some other direction."

—GILLIAN MACKEY in Toronto



Montreal's new logo—"A city, call it proud!"—is an awkward phrase with an unwieldy cadence. But it is an important part of a \$4.5-million municipal ad campaign designed to ease the self-esteem of Montrealers who have spent the past few years entangled in urban-building debates while their city's vitality has waned. The campaign is another indication that Montreal is emerging from years of political and linguistic tensions with a new kind of serenity. Indeed, the city now reflects all the maturity of having survived 341 years of social and economic upheaval.

Over the years Montreal has been the focus of the country's most dramatic debates. They include the conception crises of the two World Wars, the October Crisis of 1970 and the flight of anglophones and corporate head offices

during the 1970s as French Quebecers fought to preserve their language. Those emotional, sometimes violent upheavals have taken their toll on the city. The newspaper centre that straddles Expo 67 and the Olympiad and built it sleek, 25-story subway has lost much of its silver. Investment dollars have drained away to other parts of Canada. St. Catherine Street, once the main retail thoroughfare, has become a strip of video parlors and sex shops. Recently, the city spent \$95,000 to beautify the street, but with little success.

But there are signs of a modest renaissance in the city. A once depressed construction industry is active again, and Montrealers seem to accept the occasional battles over English-only signs

without Collins, Halifax's official city historian, has perhaps the best perspective on the nature of its rapidly developing city. "Our heart is Victorian, but our face is in the future," he says. It is an apt description of his city, the 236-year-old seacoast and cultural capital of Atlantic Canada. With a population of 277,727, Halifax is a showcase of 19th-century architecture with the intensity of a small, time-lined community. For most of its history it has been a port town, whose merchants traditionally thrived only during intermittent warfare. But recently Halifax has caught the scent of its first real postwar prosperity. And the summer base of the Bluenose II schooner is turning yet again to the sea for its wealth. This time the prize is offshore petroleum developments near Beble Island.

Halifax is the home of the largest defence establishment in the country, an organization that employs more than a quarter of the city's work force. Since June 21, 1956, when the first 3,756 English soldiers and civilians landed and built a fortress to offset French power in the region, the Citadel has impressively overseen some of the most poignant and tragic episodes in Canadian history. Among them Gen. James Wolfe's desperate to conquer Quebec City in 1759; the Halifax harbor explosion of 1917 which killed 1,682 and the assembling of the vast convoys of the Second World War. In the 1980s Halifax was also the setting for Joseph Howe's transparent campaign, which spearheaded the fight for freedom of the press and representative government in the British colonies.

The city's current dilemma is how to come to terms with development and prosperity as older neighborhoods come under the wrecking ball in favor of concrete and glass towers. The construction of new office towers threatens to cut off the magnificent harbor from the view of downtown pedestrians. "The contest to me is going to be between pretty concrete considerations and retaining some evidence of our heritage," says Collins, an ardent preservationist. But for now the sea and a small island of a bannan boom has created the attention of most Halifaxers.

—MICHAEL CLUNTON in Halifax



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Women at work: unfinished business



COVER

In the past decade Canadian women have striven for a better social and economic deal. Some, particularly in medicine, law and academia, have achieved well-publicized successes. Others, like Bertha Wilson, became the first woman on the Supreme Court. Jean Wadsworth became the first female high commissioner in London. But, despite an ever-growing female professional elite, more women than ever before accepted traditional, low-paying work as the fringes of the Canadian economy.

largely responsible for helping to defeat the independence referendum. And in Ottawa an ad hoc cross-country lobbying effort by women resulted in a clause guaranteeing sexual equality being included in the newly patriated Constitution.

But the 1981 census also reveals just how much farther women have to go to reach near-equality of equality in the workplace. In 1977, 76 per cent of working women were involved in sales, clerical work, teaching and health care. Two years later the figure had increased to 74 per cent. In 1980 the top five occupations for women were secretary, bookkeeper, salesperson, teller and waitress. Of the top 10 female occupations, only two—elementary school-teaching and nursing—are considered professions. But in a new book, *A Working Majority: What Women Must Do for Pay*, Montreal sociologists Pat and Hugh Armstrong argue that women have even lost ground in teaching since 1970, because it has become more of a "male" occupation.

Even in higher-paid jobs women tend

to be clustered at the bottom end of the pay scale. Carole Wallace of the nonprofit Action Travail des Femmes in Montreal points out that women are entering law and medicine "just when the professions are saturated." For less skilled workers, the problem is simply trying to hold on to the jobs in times of layoffs.

In politics the decade displayed the same mixture of contradictory results. There are more women holding elected office at all levels, but the numbers still represent less than 10 per cent of the total. In federal by-elections last October two of the three people elected were women, but that still left the total at 16 women out of 282 seats. "At this rate," said Lynn McDonald, the new NDP member from Toronto's Broadview-Gerrard, "it will take 680 years before it is half-and-half."

But some women saw hope for advancement during the recent Tory leadership convention in Ottawa. After Flora McDonald's humiliating defeat in 1976, in large part because of her sex, no woman ran. But most of the official male candidates dealt with women's issues during their speeches. "A few years ago Joe Clark was derided for his feminist views," said Sally Harmer, president of Ontario's Status of Women Council. "Now they're all getting in on the act."

The sudden interest is based largely on straightforward political pragmatism. Five years ago Tory pollster Allan Gregg and others have been warning the party that it must reach out to women and young people in order to gain power. The growing importance of the women's vote is evident in the United States, where Ronald Reagan and his advisers are concerned about the "gender gap." Polls in the United States show that women tend to favor the Republicans less than men do. But no matter what the motives are behind the newfound interest in the women's vote, for women it signals progress. As Brock puts it, the change is "the beginning of power." Better, too, is an optimism: "The fact has been proven," she says of male politicians. "Now we have to make him swallow it."

—SUSAN RELEY in Toronto

The revolution in the workplace



COVER

After a 30-year climb through the ranks of the forest industry giant MacMillan Bloedel, David Wilson, manager of market research for Harbortown, a marketing, suddenly found himself looking for work in the depths of the recession in October, 1983. The company had begun to dwindle—a euphemism for laying off 1,500 of its 15,000, a announced staff. "I didn't believe it was going to happen to me," said the 61-year-old Wilson. Depressed and angry, he began part-time consulting and joined a group of other middle-aged, unemployed executives called Forty Plus. But he has still not found a full-time salary position. He has, however, found a way to keep busy. Last fall his entrepreneurial daughter, Sarah, 23, started her own pet-sitting company, Oodles of Noodles. And she has hired her father to visit the phone and manage the sites. "She's doing very well," said a bemused Wilson. "And, as for me, after years of the corporate thing I find I'm running a general service. You're forced into learning new rules."

Work is no longer what it used to be. Indeed, for some Canadians it has already become a hobby. Kevin Lilley, a 25-year-old athlete, made headlines two years ago when he won Lake Winipeg. A trained pilot, a qualified sports therapist, a swimming instructor and an accountant, Lilley is now unemployed after close to three years of looking for a job. "It's hard to be married and not hold up your end of the bargain," said Lilley, who is currently supporting his wife and two young children. Lilley's story is sadly commonplace. In May there were proportionately as many women as men looking for jobs as there were forestry workers seeking employment.

As a result, job security has become the chief work issue for three-quarters of Canadians, according to a 1982 Gallup poll. More than 50 million people are currently unemployed, if the number of people who have given up looking is added to the number on manpower's actively searching lists. And young people are particularly hard hit.

Still, an astonishing series of national opinion polls conducted by Toronto's Decima Research Inc. shows that Canadians overwhelmingly agree with the proposition, "If you work hard you can be anything you want." Decima President Allan Gregg says that Canadians and to blame governments, unions and employers for job dislocation. Surprisingly, only a minority demand reforms in the private sector, despite evidence collected by Statistics Canada that the country's manufacturing problems are the result of the private sector's failure to invest in new technology.

The fear of being a precious job has created a new class of have-nots. In New Brunswick lights have broken out between French and English workers vying for the same forestry jobs. Edward Pryor, census manager for Statistics Canada, offered further evidence of the volatile situation. "In the 1950s we started doing a mid-census every five years to keep up with changes in the work force," he said.

"Now our labor force survey costs as \$12 million a year. We have to do it. The changes are happening so fast, and the public wants to know. One thing is clear—work that was once taken for granted is becoming a hard-won luxury."

—VAL BOSS in Toronto

employment. Throughout the past decade Canada created 150,000 new jobs a year—a faster rate than any other developed country. But only a few of the new positions were opened up in the country's traditional productive sectors—forestry, mining, steel and certain types of manufacturing. Instead, most of the growth took place in social services (which increased by 338 per cent), management and administration (up 118 per cent), and artistic and recreational occupations (boosted by 165 per cent).

In the process, Canada was transformed into a service economy. Fewer people were actually building better mousetraps. But anyone willing to do so could hire the services of more consultants, therapists, designers and producers than ever before. But neither sa-

les were the services of more consultants, therapists, designers and producers than ever before. But neither sa-

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Statistics Canada's latest census figures document the dichotomy. In 1977 there were only 4,033 female social workers in Canada, compared to 18,638 in 1981. In the same decade the number of women systems analysts and computer programmers jumped from 3,252 to 17,416, the number of doctors from 3,899 to 6,925, lawyers from 710 to 3,133, and economists from 180 to 2,459. And politically women were finally showing their strength. In Quebec they were

to be clustered at the bottom end of the pay scale. Carole Wallace of the nonprofit Action Travail des Femmes in Montreal points out that women are entering law and medicine "just when the professions are saturated." For less skilled workers, the problem is simply trying to hold on to the jobs in times of layoffs.

In politics the decade displayed the same mixture of contradictory results. There are more women holding elected office at all levels, but the numbers still represent less than 10 per cent of the total. In federal by-elections last October two of the three people elected were women, but that still left the total at 16 women out of 282 seats. "At this rate," said Lynn McDonald, the new NDP member from Toronto's Broadview-Gerrard, "it will take 680 years before it is half-and-half."

—SUSAN RELEY in Toronto



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Discovering the future in the past



COVER

By Shona McKay

As Canadians look toward the dawn of a new century, they are gradually growing more fascinated with what they will become rather than with their traditional concerns about who they really are. And predicting the fate of the nation in the 21st century has suddenly become a

science in space and live in steel ball in wheels that will transport them north in winter. Realists, however, say that neither scenario will unfold.

For most Canadians, those scenarios say the future will likely be somewhere between doomsday and Nirvana. "It is impossible to say which path we will eventually walk along," said Michael McCracken, president of Information, an Ottawa-based economic research firm. "But we can predict with a degree of certainty what will happen given a specific set of conditions." Indeed, the past provides some of the best pointers to the shape of the future. Extrapolating from what they already know, analysts envision a nation made up of people who will be basically better educated and richer. Canadians will live longer, have smaller families and get divorced more often. More of them will live alone, move to the West, and more will live outside major cities. Most actively, Canadians as a whole will

live in Toronto. "By the year 2000, the electronics revolution will mean we could be working only 20 hours a week." And, despite current fears, most Canadians will be employed. The greatest unemployment crisis will pass, along with the baby boom.

Canadians will have different kinds of jobs, however. As a nation of older people, they will need fewer teachers and prison guards for the more crime-prone young but more hospital and nursing-home workers. As computers and robots continue to replace both blue- and white-collar workers, more Canadians will find themselves in service and information-gathering occupations. "There is little doubt that our rural areas are growing, in part because of modern advances in telecommunications," said Gerald Hodge, director of the school for urban and regional planning at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. "With such inventions as satellite dishes and home computers the gap in Northern Ontario can be as plugged into the social system as the man in Toronto."

At the same time that it frees Canadians from repetitive tasks, the new technology will also revolutionize how they learn. "All the laws are changing," said William Mitchell, education officer with the research branch of the Ontario education ministry. "Computers are changing the way we learn. They will replace much of the training given by teachers to students and free the teachers to teach." Students can find support for that view by visiting virtually any grade school. Grade 7 students are answering university



large-scale industry. Compelling groups of futurologists offer widely—and often wildly—different views on the nation's likely prospects.

Generally, they fall into three camps: the doomsday theorists, the blindly optimistic idealists and the more sober-sided thinkers. Many pessimists contend that by the year 2000 the earth will be devoid of resources, bankrupt and facing rapid moral decay and anarchy. The unreservedly hopeful futurists, on the other hand, foresee a disease-free society whose members take

grow older. As the baby plot of the 1960s moves into middle-age spread, the very nature of Canadian society will also change. The median age of the population, which was 28 in 1960, will be 36 by the year 2000. By 2050, there will be one pensioner for every two workers in the country.

As well, few Canadians of any age will work overtime. "In every technological revolution there has been a reduction in the workweek," said Frank Feather, head of Global Futures Network, a research group with headquarters

in Toronto. "By the year 2000, the electronics revolution will mean we could be working only 20 hours a week." And, despite current fears, most Canadians will be employed. The greatest unemployment crisis will pass, along with the baby boom.

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of engineering.



Mondale with supporter: Glenn (below) the front-runner in the Feb. vote

WORLD

The search for a Democratic leader

Whether or not former vice-president Walter Mondale wins the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination, he may well rise the post-month to a critical turning point. Although the 55-year-old Minnesota remains the clear front-runner, the political stereotypes of recent weeks have eroded his lead and raised serious questions about his electability. On the left, Mondale has lost support in California; Senator Alan Cranston and to Rev. Jesse Jackson, a flaky but still an declared black candidate. On the right, he faces a growing challenge from Senator John Glenn, the former astronaut, and from third-party maverick John Anderson, who left Democratic sway from former president Jimmy Carter in the 1980 contest and threatens to repeat that performance next year. According to a Washington Post-ABC opinion poll released last week, Anderson could claim 22.6 per cent of the vote in the 1984 presidential election, mostly at the expense of Mondale or Glenn, and enough to give victory to the Republi-

lican candidate campaign organization, too, in receiving a new and more critical examination. Earlier this month the candidate lost a straw poll in Wisconsin to Quisenberry. The results are not binding and will not affect delegate selection for next year's nominating convention. Nevertheless, Mondale had been expected to win handsily, and the loss was considered a revelation on his organization.

Cranston, 66, is riding a crest of popularity, principally on the strength of the anti-nuclear issue. But when the Democratic primary and caucus season formally begins next February, the Congress campaign may face the main challenge to Mondale, insiders believe, will come from Glenn. A Second World War fighter pilot and the first American to orbit the Earth, Glenn is still widely regarded as a genuine folk hero. His political organization is considered weaker than Mondale's, and his fund-raising effort lags. But he has considerable popular appeal, especially in the West and South—where Glenn Reagan has 1980 support.

Glenn draws support from conservative Democrats and independents. But he has also exposed such liberal causes as the renunciation of the 1947 nuclear arms limitation treaty with the Soviet Union and the veritable nuclear freeze. Indeed, Glenn recently won the endorsement of Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas, one of Congress' most liberal members and a leader of the so-called Aton, or new wave, Democrats. However, Glenn has a reputation for delusion in his own style, he is frequently considered to favour president Dwight Eisenhower, another military hero who inspired trust. But Glenn's platform oratory, like Eisenhower's, is uninspiring, and some critics have questioned the depth of his intellect.

Still, Glenn does lack political finesse. As the senator from coal-burning Ohio, he recognized that coal itself would be an explosive issue in New England—where the early oil importation priorities will be held sacred. For Glenn the problem was compounded: a strong pro-environmental approach would weaken his base in the industrial states, a pro-nuclear stance might alienate his own voters. Glenn's solution was to propose a program of gradual reduction in sulphur dioxide emissions with the costs being shared among all 48 industrial states.

Glenn also stands to

benefit from Jackson's possible candidacy. A select group of leading black politicians last week officially endorsed the principle of a black presidential bid but deferred naming a specific candidate until the fall. Jackson, a civil rights activist, has shown surprising strength in recent polls, finishing behind Mondale and Glenn but ahead of other Democratic contenders. If Jackson decides to run, he will draw black support away from Mondale and other liberals with solid voting records on civil rights.

For now, the black effort is directed at boosting black voter registration. Such drives have already helped elect a black mayor in Chicago, Harold Washington, and a black Democratic mayoral candidate, Wilson Goode, in the heavily Democratic city of Philadelphia. Jackson's current campaign aims to add two million black voters to the electoral rolls in the South, where half the nation's blacks reside.

A black candidate, Jackson maintains, would give national prominence to "the black agenda" and might hold enough strength to break the convention. Against these advantages lies the risk of racial polarisation and the alienation of conservative Democrats. That spectre has already haunted the Chicago mayoral vote. Still, the black candidacy question is central not only to the party's nominating convention next July but to the larger issue of beating the Republicans in November, 1984. Some Democratic strategists, including Glen Clark Jordan, Carter's former campaign manager, believe that the party can only win by wooing white conservatives in the South. "We're the measure, a platform heavily weighted toward black issues is likely to fail."

Indeed, the problem confronting the Democrats is whether or not Mondale, who won the nomination by an appeal to minority voters, can win the presidency. For Glenn's supporters, who believe him capable of beating Reagan, the priority is to build a strategy for carrying the nomination. Recently, Mondale, Glenn and four other Democratic applicants tared up at a birthday party for Representative Morris Udall (D-Ariz.) an older statesman of the party. Udall, one of the sharpest wits in Washington, told the story of a woman waiting on a dude ranch who asked the owner what to do if a snake bit her arm. The rancher instructed her to bite the skin and spit out the poison. The woman, who had bitten the snake, bit her own arm. What if the snake bit her on the forearm? That, said the rancher, is when you find out who your friends are. Both Mondale and Glenn, campaigning in the snake-infested waters of presidential politics, laughed heartily.

—MICHAEL PENDER
in Washington

POLAND

John Paul's challenge of hope

The meeting was a triumphal effort on a victory that had offered what U.S. President Ronald Reagan called "a ray of hope" to the Polish nation. At a secluded resort near the southern town of Zakopane, Pope John Paul II ended his momentous tour of Poland with a long hoped-for meeting with Lech Walenski, leader of the banned Solidarity trade union. The talks lasted several hours. Afterward, neither gave



John Paul II: martial law may be lifted

any indication of what they had discussed. But Walenski allowed that the eight-day papal tour had transformed the country. "Something should have come now," he said. And, as he left, he said, the Pope offered one last, comforting benediction. "I hope that good will again be triumphant over evil in the Polish land."

The Pope's meeting with Walenski took place with the full approval of the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, which had found itself in an awkward

position from the moment the Pope set foot in the country. What made the authorities nervous was not so much the pontiff's clear support for the banned Solidarity trade union movement, but the pro-Solidarity demonstrations that followed almost every step in his tour. "Given the situation he has slipped up," grumbled a government aide, "every word was dynamic."

At open-air masses attended by some 10 million people, the Pope touched off a surge of confidence in his countrymen. After he consecrated a new church in the city of Nowy Hanc last week, thousands of Solidarity supporters streamed through the streets shouting, "The Pope is with us." The official reaction to those outbursts was muted. According to sources in Warsaw, a heated Polish meeting on Wednesday decided that the Solidarity was to make advance of the patriotic movement. The Pope's visit engendered rather than to smother them. To that end, a second face-to-face meeting between John Paul and Jaruzelski was arranged. Government spokesman Jerzy Urbas said that the meeting "helped our people to understand the Polish condition," a euphemistic reference to the deficits that Warsaw feels it must tread to keep its hard-liners and the Kremlin at bay. At the same time, the Polish government issued a lengthy denunciation of Western support of the trip, saying that it was understood to mean that the Pope's visit an "antithetical demonstration."

Inevitably, in the aftermath of the tour the Jaruzelski government will come under heavy attack from hard-liners. But it is hard to see how the Pope's pulse properly before allowing the trust to go ahead. While there were no serious disruptions during the tour, it clearly made a mockery of Jaruzelski's claim to have "normalised" the country under martial law. Jaruzelski is denied more than the shift between Poland's rulers and its ruled.

The government's official response to what it denounces—both wordily—called "poperness"—will not be less official. The retirement of Gen. Jaruzelski, a member of the military regime, Wojciech Gornicki, has strongly hinted that martial law will end on July 22, Polish National Day. Gornicki and Jaruzelski work that the papal tour "opens up the potential possibility of abolishing martial law." Clearly, with the Jaruzelski regime's prestige deeply dented by the papal visit, any social and any economic action a previous alternative.

—PETER LEWIS in Warsaw



Palestinians in the Bekaa's Valley "are under siege," held on site. "It is a disaster"

THE MIDDLE EAST

Arafat and the final days?

Reported by his Syrian opponents and defied by rebellious elements of his PLO guerrilla movement, Yasser Arafat may be nearing the end of his 14-year tenure as chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The seven-week-old conflict within Patah seems to be turning point last week when the rebels attacked and overran eight Israeli posts in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, effectively cutting them off from the PLO's base in the refugee camps of northern Tripoli. Even more ominous, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, from whom Arafat has long been estranged, squarely backed the rebels. The Syrian army redeployed artillery it had trained as nearby Israeli occupation forces and aimed them at Arafat's base. The PLO leader himself was said to be astonished by Assad's move. "We are under siege now," admitted Arafat's aide, Ahmed Abdel Behman. "It is a disaster."

The attack came last Tuesday, just as Patah's Revolutionary Council was meeting in Damascus to debate terms for reconciliation with the mainstream Patah deputy commander Abu Jihad had intended to propose a reform program to appease the rebels, who have called for an end to moderation and diplomacy and for a return to armed struggle. But when almost one-third of the 13 members of the Revolutionary Council failed to attend the meeting, Arafat angrily left Damascus to set up a new headquarters in Tripoli. Arafat's aides say that he had finally been convinced that the aim of the moderates—and their Syrian sponsor Assad—was more than just changing PLO politics. It was clear

that they wanted to get rid of him.

Nevertheless, the PLO leader launched fervent efforts last week to open negotiations with Assad, all without success. He called Arab and Eastern Bloc allies and pleaded for their intervention. But two reverses came with Saudi Arabia's King Fahd failed to result in meaningful pressure being put on the Syrian president. Similarly, efforts by Arab foreign ministers to set up a face-to-face meeting between Arafat and Assad failed. Even the Soviet Union was unsuccessful in arranging a reconciliation with Assad. When he arrived in Damascus to see the Soviets, Arafat learned that one of the supply convoys heading for his Tripoli stronghold had been ambushed on Syrian soil, resulting in 30 casualties. Thus, the Syrians abruptly expelled Arafat and his military commander, Abu Jihad, from Beirut. Not only that, but the PLO chief was told he could not return to his base in Syrian-controlled Tripoli or the Bekaa's Valley.

After his expulsion, Arafat flew to Tunis, where he warned that the Syrians were preparing to massacre his loyal troops trapped in the Bekaa's and in Tripoli. Then he went on to Prague to solicit aid at a World Peace Council meeting. But there was little indication that the Prague initiative would succeed where earlier lobbying had failed.

For Arafat, who has survived numerous assassination plots and challenges to his leadership, the gathering storm seemed to pose the greatest threat yet.

—BOB WAGNER
in Beirut

Reflections on a powerful betrayal

As leader Yasser Arafat was in an angry mood last week as his divergent movement faced total disintegration. On Thursday, after his lieutenants gathered his foreign supporters on a shipboard in an olive grove, the PLO leader arrived and attended Syria for orchestrating his political problems. The unusual scenes took place at a temporary hideout near the PLO's beleaguered northern Lebanon stronghold of Tripoli. Madeline's Beirut correspondent Robin Wright attended and filed the following excerpts.

Maclean's: What are you doing to end the dispute within Patah? (Arafat's faithful writes the PLO)

Arafat: First of all, it is not an internal affair. There is nothing deep or serious inside Patah. It is clear to everybody that it is Syrian and Lebanese intervention. The official statement of the Syrians that there was no intervention was a joke. The Syrians took advantage of our base, our center, our offices. I must say, our message to (Syrian) President Hafez al-Assad telling him about this tragedy. We are trying to stop it through some Arab brokers. Everybody knows that we are not to be crushed easily. But maybe they will not stop.

Maclean's: Do you believe Assad wants to get rid of you or to control you?

Arafat: It makes no difference. They betrayed us. It is a tragedy. But be sure our Arab nation will not be silent. I am here to PLO chairman through pure democracy, one of the strongest democratic processes in the whole area. Now

Arafat: War nation will not be silent



they are trying through these persons (PLO dissidents) to destroy our democratic system.

Maclean's: Is there any chance of patching together a reconciliation with Assad?

Arafat: It is up to him, not to me. I am still trying not to close the final window.

Maclean's: Is it possible now for you to be reconciled with Abu Jihad and the other PLO members?

Arafat: The door is still open to them. In the beginning Abu Jihad mentioned that he wanted the (PLO) Central Committee to solve the problem. When we had this decision taken in our Central Committee, he said he wanted a revolutionary council. When we have this revolutionary council, he talks about the Patah congress. I am sorry to say these are not his personal wishes, they come from outside.

Maclean's: Would you say your troops are betrayed by the Syrians?

Arafat: You can see for yourself where their tanks are now and the direction of their gun barrels. At every base there are tanks surrounding and besieging our forces.

Maclean's: Where does all this leave the peace process?

Arafat: Remember that I have said from the beginning that I don't close the door between us and (Jordan's) King Hussein. We have a reunion taken at our Palestine National Council (paying the PLO will work for confederation with Jordan) and we will do our best to implement it.

Maclean's: One year from today, will you still be chairman of Patah and the PLO?

Arafat: For me it makes no difference. I am not looking for it. I am a freedom fighter, which is more important for me than anything else. ☐



Burger: a dramatic rearrangement of the balance of U.S. political power

THE UNITED STATES

The court upsets the system

On the surface, the case before the court was nothing complicated: pro president. The issue was whether the House of Representatives had the power to impeach Judge John G. Edwards, a Reaganist whose transgression was that he had, last week, in one of the most far-reaching legal decisions of the past decade, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Congress had no authority to order Chadha's deportation. To do so would involve use of the congressional veto, a device it has relied on for more than 50 years. And that veto, the court declared in a historic 5-4 ruling, is unconstitutional.

What one stroke the court dramatically rearranged the balance of political power in the United States. Beginning in 1880, who language has been written into more than 200 federal statutes, including laws affecting deployment of U.S. troops (the 1933 War Powers Resolution), international trade and nuclear nonproliferation. If the president or any federal agency exceeded the powers granted by Congress, then a simple majority in either chamber was sufficient to override the sanction.

The full impact of the court's decision remains unclear. But it at least appears to give the president a much wider latitude in foreign and domestic policy. But Representative Elton Levitt (R-Ga.), a leading defender of the legislative veto. "Wait until the first proposal is sent to Jordan comes up and Congress finds it doesn't have any say in the matter." To prevent the implementation of unpopular programs, however, Congress still has

the power to cut off funding.

Resolving the court's decision. Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote, "The fact that a given law or procedure is efficient, convenient or useful in facilitating functions of government, standing alone, will not save it if it is contrary to the Constitution." What the U.S. Constitution demands, Burger argued, is a strict but balanced separation of powers. The role of Congress is to pass laws that this president can support or veto. In turn, a presidential veto can be overridden only by a two-thirds vote of both houses.

In dissent, Justice Byron White claimed that the ruling "brings down in one fell swoop programs as more laws than the court has carelessly invalidated in history." Added Justice Lewis Powell, who concurred in the majority decision: "The breadth of this holding gives one pause." But other legal and political experts were quick to challenge that caution. "In time," supported Lloyd Cutler, former White House counsel to President Jimmy Carter, "Congress will find other ways to block presidential action. It may not be such a severe change after all."

The final effect of the decision may not be known for years, but for now it seems to have raised more questions than it has answered. More litigation will be needed to determine if the 200 existing laws with veto provisions are still constitutional, in whole or in part. Last week's ruling means confusion and conflict for the president and Congress, but it will be a lesson for lawyers.

—MICHAEL POSNER in Washington



The Challenger touches down in California; astronaut Sally Ride: the latest shuttle mission included some firsts

THE UNITED STATES

A sweet seventh ride

The voice of ground controller Guy Gardner at Mission Control in Houston was understandably collegial. "The good news is that the bear is very cold this morning," said Gardner. "The bad news is that it's 3,000 miles away." The explanation for the last-minute hitch in the welcome prepared for the five-member crew of the seventh space shuttle Challenger last week was the unexpectedly inhospitable Florida weather. Challenger's six-day space voyage had been scheduled to end, for the first time in the nine-flight program, at the launch site at Cape Canaveral. But persistent early morning storm clouds and fog prompted National Aeronautics and Space Administration officials to move the landing site to a dry ribbed runway at Edwards Air Force base in California's Mojave Desert, site of all but one of the previous shuttle landings. That disappointment, requiring a delay in post-flight repair that will set back the launch dates of future shuttles, was the only flaw of the Italy seventh mission. Everything else on the historic flight, which included the largest U.S. crew and the first American woman astronaut in space—Sally Ride—proceeded with textbook precision. Said Ride: "The voyage was more than enjoyable, it was fun, the most fun I will ever have in my life."

The execution of a battery of scientific experiments was flawless, as was the deployment—using the mainline Canada remote manipulator arm—of two satellites, including Ottawa's Anik C-2. The launch of the satellite was the second of three Canadian devices that

will eventually provide a complete communications service for television and telephone systems across Canada.

More important, the Canadarm also worked perfectly in releasing and retrieving a German-made 3,200-lb shuttle pallet satellite (SPAS), described by shuttle program director Lt. Gen. James Abdnash as "a new approach to this revolution in the space between." The shuttle thus passed a critical test: more than 180 miles above the Earth, future missions must be able to collect malfunctioning satellites in space, bring them back into the cargo bay for repair or refueling and then set them back in orbit. Said Challenger's

commander, Capt. Robert Crippen: "Some crews in the past have announced, 'We deliver.' Well, for Flight 7, we pick up and deliver." The remote arm played with the 25-foot-long satellite as though it were a space toy, almost instantly seizing and releasing it. Inside the satellite, eight separate scientific experiments were under way. Meanwhile, a television camera aboard SPAS revealed a dramatic first-time view of the shuttle in flight across the Earth.

The next test of the in-space repair system will come next April. Then, NASA hopes to pick up the aging Solar Maximum Mission satellite, which went out of control after launch in February, 1980, from a Delta rocket, and perform the repairs in space. In the meantime, NASA officials are basking in the satisfaction of another major achievement.

—MICHAEL POSNER in Washington



CHILE

Striking back at Pinochet

It was the boldest act of public defiance in the 39 years of Chilean President Augusto Pinochet's military rule. The Chilean National Congress, a coalition of workers' organizations, last week issued a call for a general strike. And while reports varied on the number of workers who responded, there was plainly widespread sympathy for the action. The strikers' demands were nothing less than the restoration of democracy and drastic changes in the Pinochet government's disastrous economic policies, which have driven Chile's economy to new depths.

Despite official pressure to get them to back down, union members in the key trucking and copper mining industries led the strike. Pinochet has refused to give ground. In a recent and highly national television address to the nation the 67-year-old general reiterated his determination to hold onto power until the election of a civilian government—no later than 1985. And despite an announcement that he would allow 120 political exiles to return home, Pinochet last week seemed determined to break the civilian opposition by separating the exiles from the middle class.

The weapons at his disposal are formidable. The military has launched a major crackdown on journalists last week. It threatened to stop severing opposition group activities, including the general strike. As a result, the strike ended largely unobserved in some areas. Yet, only that, but as the strike took its toll, prominent union leaders came forward for allegedly violating Chile's draconian security laws. As well, Pinochet ordered the nation's air and sea forces to clamp down on student dissent, the source of many recent disruptions.

Nevertheless, movement toward the party is growing by the day. A proposed law reduction to suppress the middle class has had little effect in quelling the public's ire, which has spread beyond trade unions to professionals and small businessmen. Indeed, the truckers' union, which planned the general strike, is actually a confederation of truck owners. The three groups have enthusiastically joined nightly protests, marked by the banging of empty saucepans in the streets to symbolize the food shortages that afflict the once prosperous nation. Unless Pinochet takes quick action, a major confrontation with his ever-widening civilian opposition seems inevitable.

—MARY HELEN BROOKER in Santiago



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The Canadian Tire fight



Maurice Paré (below): an angry family challenges a corporate giant

By Ian Austin

The atmosphere was charged with tension at the annual meeting of the Inasco Ltd. last week. But the controversy gripping the standstill parent of the country's largest retail chain was not due to the tobacco and retail giant's impressive 26-per-cent increase in 1992 earnings. Instead, the audience was eagerly awaiting details about the Montreal-based conglomerate's dramatic \$1.1-billion takeover bid for one of the country's most successful and tightly held concerns: Canadian Tire Corp. Ltd.

At stake in the confrontation is the independence of Canadian Tire, a company that has been controlled by the family of its cofounder, John and Alfred Hillen, since it began its small garage repairs from Toronto's Den Jail in 1922. On the surface it appears that the suitor, Inasco, has all the resources it needs to win control of Canadian Tire. But for acquisitions, the corporation is fuelled by large cash resources from its key holding, Imperial Petroleum Ltd., from its successful retail operations, and

including the Shoppers Drug Mart chain. What is more, the firm's domestic market is backed by the resources of London-based IAT Industries PLC, Inasco's 49-per-cent owner and the 24th-largest corporation in the world. But by the end of last week Inasco's chances of success appeared far from assured. Not only was the Hillen family aggressively fighting the bid, but Canadian Tire's management, dealers and employees appeared to be lining up behind them.

The possibility of Canadian Tire falling from family hands into the grasp of Inasco first surfaced last month when the Supreme Court of Ontario ordered that 30 per cent of Canadian Tire's 1991 trading shares be put on the market. The ruling followed a five-year battle between the trustees of the estate of John Hillen and the National Trust Co. Ltd. But Na-

tional Trust successfully argued in court that it would be in the best interests of 23 charities that are beneficiaries of the estate if the shares were sold off.

At first, there was little concern about the company becoming a takeover target. And the family has the first rights to buy the shares now up for sale. Alternatively, it can assign that right to Canadian Tire's 14th employee profit sharing program and a dealer-owned stockholding company. In fact, just before the judge's ruling Canadian Tire President Dean Macdonald confidently told *The Financial Post* that it was "virtually certain" that the shares would stay within the company.

Despite Macdonald's prediction, Inasco had been preparing its offensive since early this year. Inasco anticipated that National Trust's argument would sway the courts and it began assessing Canadian Tire as a lucrative takeover target. Says Inasco Chairman Paul Park, "The more we looked into [its] growth... the more we became excited." That excitement culminated in the offer, valued at \$75 per share. But it soon became clear that the reaction to the "friendly" bid was hostile. As Park admitted, "Nobody was reaching out with open arms to embrace us."

A leading opponent of the offer is Martha Gaudin-Riley, a trustee and daughter of cofounder Alfred Riley. "As far as I'm concerned, [the offer] makes no difference," she said. "I'm not interested in money. I'm interested in the corporation." Already, the Riley family has indicated that it will tender a bid for the 30-per-cent block.

Reluctant by the family, Park has set his sights on gaining support from the company's highly respected management and the employees' profit sharing plan. But that route also seems blocked. Says Paul Macdonald, "It is also a trustee of the profit sharing plan, and Macdonald's, 'There's generally a desire around the company to see Canadian Tire remain an independent, Canadian-owned company.'"

In addition, if Inasco wanted a successful bid, it would have to use one of its key assets: the Foreign Investment Review Agency. Although IAT has agreed to lower its Inasco holdings to 40 per cent, FIRA approval of a Canadian Tire takeover would have to be secured. Says Macdonald, "The job is now becoming an international currency," he told *Maclean's*, "and further progress certainly can be expected in both Japan's role in world finance and the yen's position as a reserve currency." Kurosawa would like to develop Tokyo as an offshore banking centre,



Photo: J. G. Macdonald

The Canadian opening to Japan

By Peter C. Newman

The next Japanese export to hit these underdeveloped shores will be money.

Japan stopped being a net importer of capital three years ago. Its financiers are now lending far more heavily in which to support their burgeoning profits. Canada is on the short list. Harry Steers, the Canadian ambassador in Tokyo, estimates that the Japanese have already placed investments north of at least \$5 billion into this country. Much more is on the way.

This is partly a side effect of the Tokyo Stock Exchange's amazing growth. Seemed only to New York, it now accounts for well over 25 per cent of world equity turnover values. The size and clout of its leading players is remarkable, even when compared to Wall Street's giants. Nomura Securities, for example, employs 8,000 salesmen and has assets in its custody of nearly \$70 billion. Nomura recently became the first Japanese broker-dealer to be admitted to the New York Stock Exchange. Its Canadian arm, operating out of Toronto, is NIF Management Ltd.

Japanese banking is rapidly becoming internationalized. The Fuji Bank recently paid \$420 million for two commercial lending units of Walter E. Frazier International Inc. in New York and other takeover of U.S. banks are in the works. Showing a special leaning to Canada is the Industrial Bank of Japan, which has done some dense financing as well as investing in the \$1-billion project to largely rebuild Montreal and B.C. natural gas export pipelines and the oil-coking one project near Hinton, Alta. The largest of the long-term credit banks in Japan, the IBI has assets of more than \$64 billion and is currently financing projects as diverse as an Australian uranium mine, an aluminium smelter and the construction of a new commercial harbor at Long Beach, Calif. Yuh Kurosawa, the bank's managing director, is particularly interested in Canada.

"What news of Deere?" was his last question, and he was handed promotional inserts for Maschinex and New Brunswick. "The job is now becoming an international currency," he told *Maclean's*, "and further progress certainly can be expected in both Japan's role in world finance and the yen's position as a reserve currency." Kurosawa would like to develop Tokyo as an offshore banking centre,

"Foreign banks in Japan now feel that their quest for more business is coming into a wall," he said. "Offshore banking would open up a new field. Besides, the pan-Pacific region, which has the greatest potential for growth in the world, deserves to have a major offshore banking centre, comparable to London or New York."

Japan's most visible presence in North America at the moment is the growing investment of its carmakers in manufacturing facilities on this side of



Masahiko Kurosawa: 'what news of Deere?'

the Pacific. Nissan and Honda trucks and Hyundai and Toyota cars are already rolling off U.S. assembly lines. Suzuki is making color TV sets in San Diego. Canadian investments to date have been largely concentrated in natural resources, including a paper mill at Dalhousie, N.B., and a chunk of oil road property at Port McHenry, Alta.

Canadian-Japanese trade in 1992 amounted to more than \$8 billion. We had a \$1.94-billion surplus, but it was Japan that imported all of the jobs because our exports consisted almost entirely of unprocessed raw materials. Statistics show that we managed to sell Japan \$267 million worth of manufactured goods in 1992, but the top items in this category were wheat, gold, high lead cars and far more. Nevertheless, few Canadian manufacturers—Tridon

Ltd., which makes windshield wiper blades in Burlington, Ont., Delphi, Northern Telecom and Mitsui—are winning a steadily growing share of the Japanese market. The most interesting breakthrough was the recent sale of a Telexon system to Hitachi 4 Co., which intends to develop software systems across Asia. "It would be utterly foolish not to continue our export concentration on Japan," says Canadian Ambassador Steers. "Instead of seeing Japan filtered through European myths as an island on the far side of the world, we must begin to recognize it as our Pacific neighbor. Sure the Japanese are efficient, but it's uneven. They're not 10 feet tall."

Because their export drive has been so spectacularly successful (the Bank of Tokyo posted a 1993 current account surplus of \$19 billion), most of Japan's trading partners have been threatening to impose import restrictions, such as Canada's decision last summer to impose car imports until export restraints could be negotiated. The Japanese have responded by pleading innocent to ordering any tariff barriers of their own, claiming that their export duties average only 24 per cent. Japanese tariffs are low, but they're finely tuned. The duty on bananas from the Philippines, for example, is higher if they're shipped in Philippine-made crates than if they arrive in Japanese-made containers. Any degree of processing raises duties. Fresh shrimp from Thailand comes at 24 per cent, if they're dried, the tariff rises to four per cent.

As usual, the really effective barriers to free trade have little to do with published tariff rates. There are an estimated 100,000 Japanese parking their products in North America, for instance, while the United States and Canada have only about 8,000 representatives in Japan. Japan's surprisingly powerful economic advantage—English is compulsory in Japanese schools, starting in the seventh grade, while very few foreigners speak Japanese.

The charges and countercharges in the trade war are escalating, but statistics reveal the real story. Japan prides itself on not having a tariff on automobile imports, in contrast with most of the car-purchasing countries. In 1991, Japan exported more than six million vehicles. The United States, former leading importer, imported only one million. To sell the Japanese precisely 5,000 cars





Exotic dance competitors and winner Rae (third from right) Vancouver girls have distinctive routines

Jarona Gary, the U.S.-born director of the cult film *Pumping Iron*, has a new project—*Stripper*, a film that will, she says, "highlight" striptease and exotic dancing. Four Vancouver dancers, Tarten Rae, 26, Shari Pennington, 26, Danielle Holcomb, 23, and Sandy Hall, 25, already have leads in the film. "The scene in Vancouver is absolutely fantastic," Gary enthused. "Vancouver girls have very distinctive routines and a unique working environment. I have never seen anything like it anywhere else in the world." Rae recently beat out 45 scantly clad competitors for the Golden G-String award and a \$5,000 prize at the first North American Striptease Convention in Las Vegas as the best female exotic dancer on the continent. The prize money was supplied by the Canadian promoter, Janina Walsh, 27, of Calgary's *Sorbetique* Promotions.

Sainte-Marie: Hard times in Kamloops



and Gary, who filmed a segment of the contest. Bold Gary. "We are hoping that Vancouver and the scene there will figure prominently in *Stripper*."

Betty Sainte-Marie was in April for her *Up Where We Belong*, the theme song from *An Officer and a Gentleman*, but she was far from the glitter of Hollywood two weeks ago. The 41-year-old Saskatchewan-born Cree travelled from her Los Angeles home to the Deadman's Creek Indian Reserve near Kamloops, B.C., to perform in a native arts festival dedicated to elders and youth, including film children who died in a bus fire on the reserve last November. The festival itself was plagued by mishaps despite Sainte-Marie's presence, and Indian organizers lost an estimated \$8,000 on the three-day event due to bad weather, poor attendance and security problems. "There have been hard times lately at this reserve," said Sainte-Marie, who contributed \$1,000 of her own money toward expenses. "Hopefully the whole weekend will have a binding effect on people." The singer may be in Canada again soon to score—and perhaps appear in—*Spirit*, a TV series based on the drama of a young girl living in Northern Ontario.

The Canada-Prince film *For Three I Loved*, based on the book by Paul Holcomb survivor *Mama Day*, who became a hero in the *Watusi* ghetto at the age of 14, took British actor Michael

fail of Seattle. Said Canadian producer Pierre David (Bennett, *Waiting Hours*): "We literally destroyed a whole Bodega suburb that was condemned because coal mines were discovered underneath. The government is saying that while some of the city and gave it to us for our tasks to destroy. Very impressive." It was also a brutal reminder—the neighborhood was once largely Jewish.

When Irish playwright Samuel Beckett, 77, completes his new movie masterpiece, Canadian actor Donald Davis, 55, expects that his phase will be rousing Davis starred in two North American premieres of Beckett's work—*Krapp's Last Tape* in 1990 and *That Time* in 1978—and is currently playing major roles in the North American premiere at Cinépolis and the world premiere of *What Where* on an off-Broadway triple bill of dark Beckett parables. As for the meaning of the work, he said, "I refuse to answer. You must feel it like music—you can't perform. It seizes you sense that." International acclaim is routine for Davis, who has been consistently ignored by Toronto producers despite leading roles on Broadway, at Stratford and Toronto's best Theatre in the 1980s and 1990s. His home is in Toronto, though. Said Davis: "It doesn't take that long to get to New York if anybody's interested." One day, what's good enough for Beckett may even be good enough for Toronto.



Rae: A suburb destroyed

York to such diverse locations as Montreal, New York, France and Hungary. When offered the starring role, York, 41, initially hesitated. "Simply because I thought the killing of Jews had been done over and over again," he adds. "In the end, however, it has become a privilege to portray Gray on film." Directed by French Academy Award winner Robert Bresson, the film features Canada's Hale's Hughes and Geo Unger and promises an abundance of racism, especially in the scenes about the



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Canada's hard sell in Washington

By Michael Posner

It was only one budget item among dozens, and the debate was largely perfunctory. By a margin of 60 to 26, the U.S. Senate last week approved \$22.3 million for partial construction of the controversial \$1.8-billion Garrison Diversion scheme. The project—a long-deferred dam and canal scheme to irrigate 280,000 acres of North Dakota farmland—has been vigorously opposed by the governments of Canada and Manitoba and by special interest groups on both sides of the border.

Still, Washington officials maintain that nothing constructed so far breaches the obligations under the 1969 Boundary Waters Treaty, in which both countries pledged not to pollute waters that flow across the border. And until Canadian concerns are resolved, says North Dakota Representative Byron Dorgan, there will be no funding for those parts of Garrison that affect Manitoba. "The current phase, Phase I, does not affect Canada," Dorgan told *Maclean's*. "And those Canadians who oppose it are meddling in U.S. domestic politics. It's none of their business." Such criticism has not deterred Canadian lobbyists, whose profile on Capitol Hill has grown dramatically in recent months.

Canadian officials once publicly took their grievances to the offices of the state department. But increasingly the growing ground for Canadian diplomacy in Congress, where Ottawa's representatives, hired agents and independent lobbyists collect intelligence and argue Canada's case. The campaign against Garrison, for example, relied on regular waves of Washington state, as well as senior personnel from Canada's 320-member Washington embassy under Ambassador Allan Gelfand.

Canada's red-tape focus reflects the growing political strength of the U.S. Congress. Over the past decade, the Senate and House of Representatives have claimed a larger role in shaping U.S. foreign policy, especially in trade and commerce. In a period of high unemployment, Democrats and Republicans alike are particularly vulnerable to protectionist arguments. The result is legislation that defends local, regional or sectoral interests, often at the expense of Canadian exporters.

Ironically, notes Jeremy Kinsman, minister of the Canadian Embassy in Washington, sponsors of U.S. protectionist laws frequently resist them-

selves as friends of Canada. New York Senator Daniel Moynihan, an avowed ardent champion of Canadian causes, is still the main force in Ottawa's claim on border broadening. Moynihan claims that federal restrictions on the access of Canadian advertisers to U.S. television stations are unfair.

In fact, as Kinsman told a recent John Hopkins University conference on foreign lobbies, "Canada has no ser-



Gelfand: lobbying as an essential tool

vice: leverage in Congress and no automatic majorities." In fact, in the new diplomatic climate, Ottawa's best strategy is to forge alliances with like-minded U.S. interests—a tactic more easily conceived than executed. This approach has resulted in some success on the said rail issue, which was recognized as a serious problem only when Americans realized that the rail was also falling in New England.

Public diplomacy, the direct courting of U.S. political opinion, undeniably carries a number of risks. For one thing, the White House may resent a foreign

government's intrusion into a domestic debate and seek ways to retaliate. For another, provincial governments, whose objectives are rarely identical to Ottawa's, can decide to mount their own lobbying campaigns, causing confusion about Canada's precise goals. Finally, says Washington political consultant and veteran Canada watcher Ed Neil, "You have to pick your allies very carefully. A good lobbyist will concede the merit of other contrary opinions. A foreign government, trying to lobby on an issue like the National Energy Program, can't do that."

Whichever the risks, most observers of Canadian-U.S. relations agree that quiet diplomacy is no longer enough. Says University of Toronto professor Abraham Rotstein: "The interconnections—the linkages—are now so extensive that we have no choice but to play." As if to prove Rotstein's point, Congress in recent days has debated not only the Garrison project but cable television deregulation, natural gas pricing and domestic content quotas for the auto industry—all with direct or indirect effects on Canada.

But if overt lobbying is now an essential tool of Canadian diplomacy, it is not yet clear how it should be wielded. On congressional radar screens, says Washington-based political consultant Norman Ornstein, "Canada is a very small bug." Ottawa has agreed to add \$205,000 to the embassy's lobbying budget, but by Washington standards the allotment is small. Puerto Rico, a U.S. protectorate, spends more than \$4 million annually.

Ornstein concludes that the new strategy is in a state of evolution. But Canada is already a relative newcomer to the game and faces stiff competition in congressional corridors from more experienced Japanese, British, West German, French and Israeli diplomats. Too much public pressure will definitely produce a backlash. Too little is apt to be ineffective. And the bottom line, inevitably, is that congressmen are sensitive to Canadian concerns only if they do not conflict with their own voting constituency. Concludes Rotstein: "I fear we're getting into very deep waters and I think we're overly optimistic." Meanwhile, the Garrison funding bill is expected to survive an upcoming House-Senate budget conference. Even with the help of aggressive U.S. lobbies, this early venture into the uncharted territory of public diplomacy seems destined to fail. □

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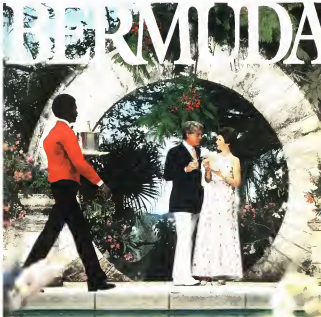
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A pastiche of summer pop

BURNDOWN
Rank and File
 (WEA)

A Texas-based quartet, Rank and File boldly combines diverse musical influences. Sometimes it sounds like a punk version of the country-rock band Poco, at other times it resembles the Everly Brothers. Hard and stark, the music has the rhythm of fast-moving trains. The lyrics of such songs as "I Don't Go Out Much Anymore" and "The Conductor Wrote Black" express a dark alienation common to both Johnny Cash and Johnny Rotten.

DELIA HELL
Delia Hell
 (WEA)

Discovered and produced by Kristynian Hurren, Oklahoma native Delia Hell is an old-style country singer. Assertive and powerful, her voice may be too severe for many used to more melodic, modern country music. But its raw beauty is

undeniable, especially on *Flowers in My Heart*, written by George Jones and performed as a duet with John Anderson, and *Love Pilgrim*, a traditional spiritual about finding comfort in the cold ground.

HEUTEBOLOGY
The Wastelanders
 (PolyGram)

Exploring psychic landscapes where "dopamine is a local custom," this member group from Akron, Ohio, examines the anxieties and uncertainties of modern life. The funky guitars, jazy saxophones and Patty Bonham's deadpan vocal style are irresistible, but the quick-witted words steal the show. A song called *Everything's Wrong 'n' My Hair Is Wrong* is a skit about sexual warfare. "Hilly see with this zipper, darling/Then could you kind of disengage?" They're all out of *Love*, let's *Find Another Party* is a call for anti-conservative political action. "I want you to be so happy/You will bug them with your pretenses."

OLD CORNEDALS & SAGEHENBUSH
For Tyson
 (CBS)

Like Tyson's first album since 1976 is a handsomely packaged tribute to the cowboy as musician here Tyson's smooth, gentle voice and his wise choice of traditional and original songs present the theme from becoming a singer, rancher or musician. *Learnin' Chorus* is a plaintive farewell to beloved old Old Alberto Moon, a sweet shuffling waltz, makes a Friday night in a bar, surrounded by "wall to wall" pickup trucks, sound like more fun than anything being offered in large urban centers.

MURMUR
R.E.M.
 (A&M)

A four-man band from Georgia, R.E.M. makes pop music that is catchy and poetic at the same time. Despite losses of the Ramones and Talking Heads, the band has a self-edged, rural tone. Though lead vocalist Michael Stipe's diction is such that it is impossible to make out many of the lyrics, his voice is sensitive and full of passion. And the words that are understandable are enough to establish an extraordinary, if not totally comfortable, mood.

—DAVID LEVINSON

ENVIRONMENT

The vat that eats PCBs



Barton's destruction by intense heat

gases are burned to produce harmless carbon dioxide and water. And gases, such as hydrogen fluoride, are neutralized in a scrubber to form salt water.

Barton, who teaches engineering at Royal Military College, developed the system in 1976 to destroy PCBs, polychlorinated biphenyls that were widely used as coolants and insulators but have since been linked with birth defects and cancer. He claims that the technique has been 99 per cent effective in laboratory tests. More recently he has been preparing for testing the technique on industrial byproduct dioxins, the most deadly chemical known to man. Last month the testing program got a boost when New York state's department of environmental conservation (DEC), in co-operation with the EPA, agreed to put up \$750,000. The first batch will take place at a yet to be determined dump site in Ontario, where others will be held in New York.

Barton and a partner, Edward Fee, have formed their own company, Pyrolysis Systems Inc., devoted exclusively to the new process. The EPA's first request is to be an important element in a mix of technologies that could destroy hazardous wastes at source. The agency is supporting the development of other innovative means of waste destruction, methods as diverse as potentially engineered bacteria and molten salt.

Other high-temperature combustion systems have been tried for waste disposal, but, according to Nick Kulk of New York state's bureau of hazardous site control at the DEC, Barton's method offers important advantages. For one thing, it is small enough that it can be moved from one site to another by trailer. It also runs on an "affordable" amount of energy. "If we were very hopeful about this process," Kulk says, "we would not be proceeding with the contract."

Meanwhile, Barton and his colleagues are looking beyond the mobile liquid-waste destruction unit that has attracted the EPA's interest. "We plan to adapt the system for solid wastes and larger capacities," he said. "We are now working on a large unit that would handle 50,000 gallons a day. The whole thing, the container and the mass in it." If that comes about, the fledgling Canadian company could secure a similarly large part of the billions of dollars slated for the clean-up of North American dump sites.

—PAT DILLON/STAFF IN TORONTO



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RELIGION

Ministerial discontent

Five years ago Rev. William Hudson, a United Church minister, lost his pulpit in Fort Erie, Ont., after a local church oust of clerics and lay volunteers accused him for "failure to keep the peace and unity of the congregation." Shocked, he appealed to the church's highest court, and won re-statement. Still, the episode had worn him down, and Hudson asked that he be allowed to move within six months to another church. He now heads a United Church congregation in Oshawa, Ont. Although he says that he has never been able to find out what evidence the lower court heard, he does admit that some congregants had complained that his wife worked outside the church and that he sold church furniture for less than it was worth. "I was never asked for my side of the story," he said. "They never checked out the rumors with me."



McKibbin strained relationship

The shelved proceedings against Hudson seemed inconsequential to a 900,000-member church that charges the causes of Soviet dissidents and backs a global boycott of Nestlé's to protest the sale of processed baby's milk to the Third World. Eighty-five ministers, including Hudson, have become so enraged with the church's handling of inter-congregational disputes that they have joined an advocacy group called Clergy Abuse. Founded by Rev. Kaye McKibbin of Metcalfe, Ont., last November, the organization offers support to ministers who are involved in confrontations with the church. "We are getting two to three cases a week," said McKibbin.

According to the group's founder, the strained relationship between Canada's largest Protestant church and its clergy stems from ill-trained ministers and laymen who sit on all four levels of the church's internal courts. The courts mediate when local members lodge complaints against their ministers. The problems can range from personality clashes to charges of preaching racialist sermons. McKibbin says that cases are often dealt with too quickly and without access to legal counsel.

Many disputes between clergy and congregations are resolved satisfactorily through mediation. Most are resolved by the minister moving to another church or by restraining that McKibbin says that in some cases, after congregants have voted to oust their minister and lower-level church administrators recommended the re-

moval, the minister could then be placed on a "discontinued" list without pay. As a result, in the past year 40 ministers have effectively been in limbo, collecting unemployment insurance, and a dozen have been on welfare. One minister currently without a church is Margaret Hannah, 60. She was ordered to leave her position as minister of two congregations near Woodstock, Ont., in 1985 after unspecified complaints by members of one of the congregations. "I got caught in the middle of

a 38-year-old power struggle between the two groups," she said. She was told only that she was removed because she was unable "to keep the peace" within her congregation.

Rev. Peter Collins, Toronto administrator of the church's division of ministry personnel and education, is surprised by allegations of closed proceedings. "Theological matters always happen in the margins, which are public," he said. Regarding the Hudson case, Collins says that he "cannot comment on it because I do not know all the details." But McKibbin counters that the decision to remove the ministers are never discussed at synods, and has meetings between disaffected parishioners and the local church court and do not reach the higher echelons.

For its part, the church is endeavoring to smooth congregation-clergy relations by offering conflict-management courses to its 2,000 ministers and putting a greater emphasis on teamwork within the ministry. Many ministers believe that the church has not moved fast enough, however. McKibbin estimates that at least 10 ministers are complaining with the church in civil courts for wrongful dismissal.

—CATHERINE BLOD in Toronto

DON'T JUST
THINK ABOUT IT
-DO IT!



Driving home the moral of the story

By Anne Collins

If the new crop of fiction from Canadian publishers is any reflection, young adults would be better off seeking their summer escape in comic books and videogame parades. While smaller children can still find fantasy land between the covers of a book and adults can forget their troubles by burying themselves in romance and detective novels, young adults seem fated to keep their noses in the grindstone of growing up. "Problem novels" are the order of the day for juveniles, whose the book industry classifies as 10- to 16-year-olds. And the problems are as varied as racial and religious prejudice, diabetes, crippling shyness, divorcing parents, high-pressure competition in sports, a retarded younger brother, a pet that goes blind and even an artificial eye. The moral of the story is high as the publishers' list of potential



Craving reading for those who take growing up seriously

scenarios, a new line of original paperbacks from Gasp, illustrates the point. The books, which sell for \$2.95 each, feature young covers and illustrations that break up the flow of grey print. They look fun but contain large doses of adolescent wisdom. All five are releases are competently written, and the stories are moving in a get-out-the-handkerchiefs way. In *Clamorous* by Margaret Holland, 16-year-old Mary-Lynn Maurice loses her eyesight in an artificial eye by turning her blind dog, Porrie, to compete in dog trials. Such a story could speak for itself, but Holland feels compelled to underline the message in the last page. Young Mary-Lynn reflects on all she has learned: "I've got my handspan, and I've got my eye. It's all that much different. They can be happy the same as everybody else."

The best two books in the *Jungles* series are *More Against the Dark* by Brenda Boyd and *I Wish There Were Unicorns* by Kathleen Bradford. Read's young hero, Jason Harrington, is an orphaned, unemployed, and homeless 17-year-old who is a master of the street. For his morally handicapped younger brother. But the author adds a suspenseful subplot about West Coast drug smuggling which provides more entertainment than enlightenment. Bradford takes a greater risk. Her central character, Rachel, is the only heroine in the series

who manages to be truly dislikeable. Her selfishness is linked to her parents' divorce, and the climax of the novel cracks her out of her snobbish and self-controlled shell. But the book is revealing about the way different children in a family react to loss. And the character names of Rachel, her little sister and her gossamer-eyed mother—inspired on Rachel's harsh judgments—are excellent.

The new Scholastic juvenile novels, which also cost \$2.95 each, tend to hide their messages a little more deftly. *One Mystery of Black Rock Island*, by Robert Rutherford, even discards the notion of problem-solving altogether, offering the old adventure standby: youth takes on evils of the adult world and wins, just like the Hardy Boys and Nancy Drew. Engaging, 93-6, pure warfare and terrorism interspersed with the killing holiday of teenager David McCreimont, who has come all the way from Woodstock, Ont., to discover his family roots in the Scottish Hebrides. Except for the absence of sex, *Mystery of Black Rock* could be an adult thriller.

Don't Call Me Superhero! by Dorothy

Jean Harris is the lead-in to the group of four books. Harris, a good writer, talked with a friend whose child has diabetes, and the book rings true in its dealing of the disease and the family adjustment. But the entire plot is simplistic. Above gets diabetes, below gets diabetes, below to live with diabetes. The book probably would be useful in helping a young person, family and friends adjust, but usefulness does not register high on the pleasure meter.

The only bad thing about Alison Lukers' *Fire's Whis Covers About Karen's* is the title. When five teenagers crash to the bottom of a ravine in the BC mountains, shy 15-year-old Karen has to pull herself together to save the day. But she does not suddenly turn into Supergirl. Karen is just as awkward as being honest as she is in everyday life. She not only almost drowns herself in a creek but also loses her already wounded hand while trying to defend him from a bully. She finally manages to get all four of her variously damaged companions to safety. It is only fitting that by the end of the book, true love also manages to find Karen, even though she is still hiding behind her glasses.

Goodbye, Goodbye, Goodbye, by two BC high-school teachers, Bruce McElroy and James Henderson, who write under the name of B. Good, almost transcend the genre the reader never forgets that the hero, Albert (Pablo) Falkenhaymer, is dyslexic and that his reading disability is the focus from which the plot springs. Falko attempts to forget it too by creating an alter ego he calls the Falconer, who can carry off any practical joke the resourceful teenage dreamer up. As the narrator of the story, Falko says he is better about his disability but he acts like a reasonably well-adjusted young man. Even his plots against the school system are funny rather than vengeful. It seems that in these books only good kids have problems, which is perhaps the only way such happy and grown-up solutions can be reached.

Amish Adventure (Clarke, Irwin, \$7.95) by award-winning author Barbara Smucker, could also be called a problem novel in some respects. The central character, Tim McKeen, is a

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as an orphan his mother is dead and his father has left for the winter to work on an oil rig. On his way to Toronto to stay with his ailing Aunt Clara, the Yukon-bound in which he is driving his Aunt Clara's horse and buggy. The Aunt, always ready to try to love their estranged, take him under their wing. Smoother grinds her history gears a bit in the novel. A reader can plausibly see the moral of the story (tolerance) and Smoother's ecological concerns (Arctic-style farming does not abuse the land as much as corporate farms do). But at heart, *Arctic Adventure* is about a contemporary child confronting part of the world that has remained resolutely unchanging—and people who live in it are sometimes as jarring as Job's.

Am I Lookin'? by John Craig (Scholastic) is simply not a young adult novel in the way that the others are, even though it deals with racial prejudice and was selected as one of the American Library Association's best books for young adults in 1976. It is a baseball novel which uses some of the same history as W. P. Kinsella's adult prize winner, *Shoeless Joe*. But Craig's book is much less sentimental about the black baseball greats who played out their lives in obscurity before the sport was integrated. There are no solutions for the problems of Chappie Johnson and

his Colored All-Stars, who have to entertain the middle-and-dime Harlem Globetrotters to make the gate of exhibition games played in small-town North America. And Joe Giffen, a down-on-his-luck white ball player who joins the All-Stars for a time, discovers that it takes more than lamplight on his face to understand what it is like to be black Craig, who died last year, based the novel on autobiographical experiences. He takes his readers to a far better place than a happy ending to suggest into the players and a bygone era, and pleasure in his art.

The exception that lightens the moral burden of young adult fiction is Gordon Korman. His allegorical rock-memoir characters, Bugs Potter, is now

appearing in his second book, *Bugs Potter Lives at Nightmares* (Scholastic). Bugs not only does exactly what his parents do not want him to do but he does it so well that he escapes being punished for his sins every adolescent's dream. The whole adult world seems a little silly to Bugs, who only waste his time to heavy-metal music and get on with playing his drums. The adult world is in fact Korman's main target for satire. He is not trying to provide laudable role models for his readers, but simply to entertain them. He is undoubtedly successful, because at 18, with eight children's books already to his credit, Korman writes not as a grown-up to a child, but as one young adult to another. ☐

MACLEAN'S BEST SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *The Little Greymer Girl*, by Correll (1)
- 2 *White Gold Whiteners*, Davidson (W)
- 3 *Christmas, King (1)*
- 4 *Arctic Adventure*, Maclean (1)
- 5 *Florida Swamp*, Stroud (1)
- 6 *2000 Odyssey Two*, Clarke (1)
- 7 *The Lamented Gods*, L. Kinsella (1)
- 8 *Voices of the Heart*, Proulx (1)
- 9 *Amateur*, Thomas (1)
- 10 *The Summer of Robin*, Proulx (1)

(1) Position last week

Nonfiction

- 1 *In Search of Excellence*, Peters and Waterman Jr. (1)
- 2 *Magnum*, Nisbet (1)
- 3 *The Pita Film*, Ryan (1)
- 4 *Speed Service*, Perry (1)
- 5 *Just People's Workbook*, Ponder (1)
- 6 *The Last Line*, Menckner (1)
- 7 *The Love You Make*, Brown and Gentry (1)
- 8 *The Outpost People*, Mount (1)
- 9 *Yves in Two Maps*, O'Brien and Proper (1)
- 10 *The One Minute Manager*, Blanchard and Johnson



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Farming the Forests



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(Source: CPPA)

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FILMS

Ingmar Bergman's graceful swan song

FANNY AND ALEXANDER

Directed by Ingmar Bergman

Ingmar Bergman says that *Fanny and Alexander* is his last film. If that is so, then it is surely one of the most graceful swan songs on record. Short with exquisite clarity and subtlety, by Bergman's longtime cinematographer, Sven Nykvist, it is both a roasting celebration of family life and an examination of those deep, dark pockets of pain that families produce. Bergman returns to all his old themes—the silence of God, the fickle nature of human sexuality, the terrors of the unknowable, the pleasures of theatrical effects, but this time he looks them over, discards them and arrives, happily, with a comforting compromise. The notion of living in a world of frustrating mystery and unexpected suffering is fused to one from August Strindberg's *The Dream Play*, read to the 10-year-old Alexander Krolid (Berit Gunn) by his grandmother (Gunn Waldgren) at the film's break. "Anything can happen, anything is possible and likely. Time and space do not exist. On a funny ground of reality imagination spins out and weaves new patterns." Bergman will go to his grave consoled by his own imagination.

Before all the themes pervade and merge in *Fanny and Alexander*, Bergman introduces his Krolids, a robust and cheerfully rich family with a heavy theatrical background, the relatives gathered together for Christmas Eve dinner in 1907. It takes a while to get to know them all, but the Dickensian spirit of Bergman's tone and the pliant, vaporous trappings will carry the uninitiated viewer along, eyes charmed by velvet greens and plump reds. The grandmother, Helena, lords over the cousins and her three sons, greeting her husband's friend (and lover), a middle-aged married man (Richard Dreyfuss). One son, Gustav Adolf Krolid (Jarl Kulle), is a philanderer, but his wife, Alma (Mona Malm), bread of both mud and garb, does not mind.

After the business of the dinner, the world of shadows begins to seep in. A second son, Carl Krolid (Björk Kjellin), a wastrel who has lost his self-respect and discovered the creative powers of alcohol, his estranged German wife (Christina Schollin) lives in a grimy, shell-shocked world. Tossed the audience with his old denunciations about death and desecration and matching dialogue. But the eight-year-



Gunn and Berit finding consolation in a world of mystery and suffering

old Fanny (who, played by Pernilla Allwin, is mostly a bystander, contrary to what the title suggests) and Alexander watch all the action with the wide-eyed excitement traditional at the evening.

The children's father, the third son (Alan Edwall), runs the local theatre where their mother, Berit (Ewa Fröling), acts. He is not well, and several days after the dinner he dies. With him vanishes the world that Fanny and Alexander knew and loved. When Berit marries a new husband (Jan Malmer) and takes the children to live with them, Fanny and Alexander turn into a Grimm's fairy tale. The painfully ascetic house has no pleasures for young boyhood needs. The housekeeper (Hanna Andersson) is grim and forbidding, and the father's right eye and sister seem to have joined right out of *Camelot*. The children are locked in their rooms, Alexander is miserably used, and Berit realises what a hell she has unwittingly chosen. As in all fairy tales, rescue does arrive, strongly in the form of the mysterious, look, a Jewish garden angel.

Bergman moves from the business and pageantry of the opening sequences

to the story atmosphere of the second part with astonishing ease. Image succeeds image in Fanny and Alexander without ever so much as a break in the rhythm. Some of them match Bergman's best, a candlelit tale to early Christmas morning, serene, Berit, some strong, pining back and forth across her husband's coffin while the children watch from outside the door, Alexander's walk in back's curio shop.

Old habits, however, the hard, and Bergman murmurs some of his most striking. He is at his most lyrical when Alexander's father is called during a rehearsal of *Hamlet*, and later when Berit tells Alexander not to think of her as Gertrude and the husband as Claudius. As well, some of the extreme close-ups of eyes are too intensely sustained. But Bergman, drawing his superb, familiar ensemble of actors, is in a generous, effective mood, and an audience should return the compliment. Running 107 minutes, the film asks for a lot of attention. But *Fanny and Alexander* deserves that attention, in the final analysis it is absolutely interesting and absolutely lovely.

—LAURENCE O'TOOLE

The Liberals sniff the wind

By Allan Fotheringham

There is a funny feeling abroad in the land. It hasn't been around for nearly 30 years. There's a smell of nervousness to the Natural Governing Party, the Liberals, as they sniff the wind and don't like what they find. Suddenly, they realize, they have a leader who is 20 years older than Martin Brian Mulroney—The Jaw That Walks Like a Man. Abruptly, the perceptions have changed. Mulroney is being held in the newspaper headlines as "the boy from Blue Cross" or "a 64-year-old ex-royal comrade-in-law, ex-company president can be labelled a boy, a nearly 64 Pierre Trudeau starts to look like an old man. The Liberals are nervous, gulping their ministers rather than sipping them, poking and prodding the Mulroney manhood, searching for flaws and weaknesses. Not most of all they are spying the shoulder blades of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, wondering who will be brave enough to nudge them with a small feather as he takes the first The Shuffling behind the curtain in becoming visible. Some notes on the banquy.

John Roberts: Everyone's candidate for the perfect cocktail party diplomat still retains the impossible dream. The Minister for And Rain has been getting a lot of exposure in the United States of America lately. Unfortunately, Vanos don't vote in Canadian elections. Still plans to bring out a line of designer golfclubs. The leadership? No chance.

Lloyd Axworthy: Major platform in the pursuit of a new year of the rain. The plan is to make him look more serious. If he gets any more serious, he may start to talk like Herb Gray. Has regained reputation somewhat since Broads Canada removed itself from his seat. Dreams of being the last of the Golden West is shared lightly by the Ministry of returning his Winnipeg seat as the western Canadian antipathy to the Liberals, whenever leads them, simply grows.

Mark Gray: World's last remaining element has been grown out so that it. Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

now looks like a beaver's tail (authentic Canadian nationalized beaver) so as to catch the trendy dress and hat-sub-vote. He is the Michael Wilson of the Grits, as earnest as the day is long. The days are starting to get longer, you have noticed.

Don Macdonald: Owner of the ancient-developing royal comrade in Canadian history. Most voters have already forgotten what it is supposed to be studying. Shot himself in one of his last feet with the badly handled 1000-day stipend. Will find it hard to recover from that. Will be in only if

fact that he probably won't have met when the contest comes round. Would preserve the cherished Liberal beehive tradition.

Gordon Gibson: Second Lochness of the Golden West. Good hair, good voice, no seat. Last remaining Liberal west of the Rockies. So kindly, writes memos to himself.

Serge Joyal: Wine Best-Dressed Royal Tour sweetstakes. Former party mascot, sudden ardent royalist when fashionable pop Good smelt. Only ranks in the future.

John Tuzo: Does not want to be Liberal leader. Wants to be prime minister. Will not give up Bay Street salary and Forest Hill prestige if his polling tells him he would be assigned to four or eight years in opposition to Brian Mulroney, a punk 19 years his junior. That's the trouble. Still shunning Gretna Fennell.

Alan Christian: Running hard, but on the spot. Has been very oddball publicly lately, trying to figure out how to spend energy. Has discovered to his surprise not many votes in Alberta. Trudeau ignores him. It hurts.

Paul Martin Jr.: Wants to be corporate ambassador in Montreal, trying to time his arrival in Ottawa scene. Montrealese Mulroney made it in one unfortunate leap, he reasons, why not another? Waiting for the call. The call has been put on hold.

Stan Roberts: The Harold Stassen of the Liberal party. Continually looking stories that he is available to be prime minister. The leak has through the floor.

Ernest Wilson: So certain of running that he has had his green felt cowboy hat cleaned and blocked. Would be no funnier than John Garbale. Politician answer to the McKenna Brothers. Almost as dull as John Crosbie, and even heavier.

Pierre Trudeau: A legend in his own mind. Likes Mulroney personally, which is more than he can say about most in his own party. Enjoys taunting with his second retirement: call Party pressmen growing too strong. Will go this fall. Pays to open an institute dedicated to his own age. Will have a sentiment of one.



J&B. It whispers.

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